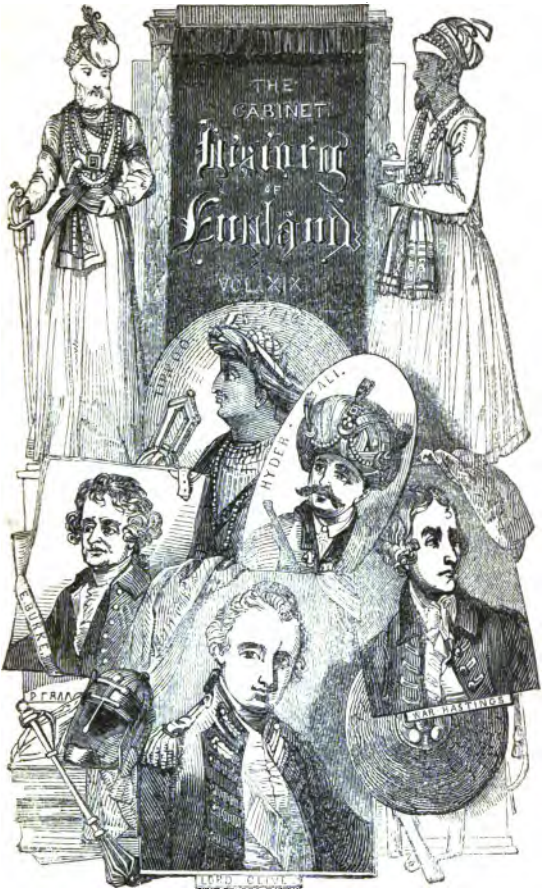
THE
CABINET
History
OF
England
VOL. XIX.
HYDER ALI.
LORD CLIVE

William Lennox

THE

CABINET HISTORY OF ENGLAND;

BEING

AN ABRIDGMENT, BY THE AUTHOR,

OF THE CHAPTERS ENTITLED "CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY" IN "THE PICTORIAL HISTORY OF ENGLAND," WITH A CONTINUATION TO THE PRESENT TIME.

BY CHARLES MAC FARLANE.

VOLUME XIX.

LONDON:
CHARLES KNIGHT AND CO., LUDGATE STREET.
1846.

London: William Clowes and Sons, Stamford-street

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WHEN General Howe began to think of bestirring himself, he was assured that Washington's main position, now at a place called the manor of Courland, among the Jersey hills, was converted into a sort of citadel, with quantities of artillery, provisions, forage, and stores of every kind deposited in it; and that the port through which these supplies were chiefly carried was a place called Peekshill, up the Hudson, and about fifty miles from New York. On the 23rd of March he sent a detachment of 500 men, under the command of Colonel Bird, to ascend the river in a couple of transports, drive the Americans from Peekshill, and bring off the stores. Seven or eight hundred Americans fled from that position as the British approached it; but before they retreated they set fire to their barracks and store-houses, so that Bird was obliged to return without any booty. A month after this exploit Howe sent 2000 men under the command of Governor Tryon, General Agnew, and Sir William Erskine, to beat up the town of Danbury, on the borders of Connecticut. The Americans fled out of the town in too great a hurry to burn their magazines, and the detachment entered without opposition. But

the stores were too numerous and heavy to be carried off; they had brought no carriages with them; therefore, they set fire to the place, and burned 1600 barrels of pork and beef, 600 barrels of flour, 2000 barrels of wheat, rye, and Indian corn, 2000 tents, and a considerable quantity of military clothing, of which, as of the tents, Washington was in great want. This work of destruction was not completed until the following morning, when the detachment began to march back to their shipping, not expecting to find any enemy on their road. But, while they had been burning and destroying, the Connecticut men had been marching and running in from all quarters, and General Wooster had brought round some field-artillery and placed it at the end of a bridge over which he thought the British must of necessity pass. And there was a greater than Wooster in the field—for when the detachment reached the little town of Bridgefield they found General Arnold posted there with a considerable force, and with entrenchments in his front. There was no road but through the town, and, therefore, the word of command was given to force the entrenchments. The British troops rushed on, and carried them after a short but terrible conflict, which very nearly put an end to the career of Arnold. That adventurous man had his horse shot under him, and while extricating himself was charged with a fixed bayonet by an English soldier; but the fortune and address of the horse-dealer prevailed, and he shot the man dead with a horse-pistol. As the day was on the wane, and as the British troops were extremely fatigued, having had no sleep for two nights, they formed themselves into an oblong square, and lay upon their arms till morning. When they moved they soon came to the bridge, and there they found General Wooster with his field-pieces, and two strong columns drawn up on the river bank. Most fortunately, however, their guide led them to a ford three miles above the bridge, and there they crossed and got between Worcester and their ships. But, though disconcerted by this rapid manœuvre, the Americans followed, fighting or skirmishing nearly all the way to

Camp's Point. But the farewell greeting of the English was memorable. Sir William Erskine put himself at the head of 400 men, charged and broke the two American columns, and drove them back across the country like a flock of sheep. They left behind them, dead on the field, General Wooster, several field officers, and a great many men. The loss of the British in killed and wounded amounted to about 200. The rest got unmolested on board their transports and returned to New York.*

About the middle of May the Americans retaliated in kind; for, having learned that we had a quantity of salt beef and pork, forage, and other commodities deposited in a slovenly manner on Long Island, at a place called Sagg's or Saggy Harbour, they resolved to destroy them by a night attack. The expedition was successfully conducted by one Colonel Meggs, a Connecticut man, who had been trained under Arnold.

In the winter of the preceding year, when Washington had fled to the Delaware before Lord Cornwallis, Colonel Harcourt, commanding our light horse, took prisoner Charles Lee, who had deserted from our service, in which he held the rank of colonel, and gone over to the Americans, who conferred on him the rank of major-general. According to a British officer, he behaved in as cowardly a manner in this transaction as he had behaved dishonourably in every other, and, after firing one or two shots from a house, came out and entreated our troops to spare his life.† He told his captors that he had been mistaken in three things:—1st., that the New England men would fight; 2nd, that America was

* Stedman.—Gordon.—Burke, in Ann. Regist.—Marshall.—Carlo Botta.

† Captain Harris's Journal.—Harris adds, "Had he behaved with proper spirit I should have pitied him, and wished that his energies had been exerted in a better cause. I could hardly refrain from tears when I first saw him, and thought of the miserable fate in which his obstinacy had involved him."

unanimous; and 3rd, that she could afford two men for our one.* His loss was considered a severe blow to the American cause. Lee had been a soldier almost from his birth, and had seen much service during the last war, in Portugal, under Burgoyne, and in America, under Chatham's favourite generals. His military knowledge was great, and he had been exceedingly useful in forming and disciplining the revolutionary armies. He was also well acquainted with modern languages and with most of the great countries of Europe, so that he was considered as capable of diplomacy as of war. The British officers who took him boasted they had taken the American palladium.† They expected that he would be shot at once; and, according to the military code and practice of all European nations, a court-martial, or a mere identification of his person over a drum-head, would have settled the fate of the deserter. But General Howe and the British government, from mercy or from policy, were not disposed to proceed upon these bloody canons, and Lee was kept at New York as a close prisoner in a private house. On the 10th of July, Colonel Barton, who had belonged to the Rhode Island militia, with several other militia officers and volunteers, chiefly Rhode Islanders, to the number of forty, crossed over by night from Warwick Neck to Rhode Island, with the intention of surprising and seizing General Prescot, who had been left in command of the British troops there. Barton and his company crossed over in two row-boats, landed at the southern end of the island, lay there till near midnight, and then, advancing with great caution, they surprised the sentinel at the gate, took the general in his bed, and, without allowing him time to put on his clothes, they hurried him to their boats and away to the main-land. It is said that they reached the continent before Prescot was missed on the island. That general's imprudence almost merited anything that could be done to him. The New Englanders announced that they would hang him if Howe shot Lee, and they treated him in the interval

* Captain Harris. † Gordon.

with much harshness, in order to press for an exchange —general for general.*

In the meantime Washington, who had been greatly reinforced, had quitted his encampment at Courland Manor, and had taken up a still stronger position at Middle Brook, with entrenchments and well-garnished batteries in his front. In the beginning of June, Howe, who ought to have been in the field at least two months earlier, left New York and crossed the Hudson to the Jerseys. As the American lines at Middle Brook were so formidable—though not so terrible but that they might have been carried at the bayonet's point—it was his object to tempt Washington from them. After trying other expedients he, on the 19th of June, retreated with seeming precipitation from a position he had taken up in front of Middle Brook, evacuated the town of Brunswick, and ordered his main body to retire to Amboy. Washington fell into the snare: he detached large bodies of his troops to pursue Howe, who threw a bridge over the narrow channel that separates Staten Island from the continent, and sent over part of his baggage and a small number of men. Upon this Washington himself moved from Middle Brook, abandoned what had cost him so much trouble to create, and advanced to Quibble Town. The rest of Howe's scheme was well conceived; but, by the slowness of his execution, Washington was once more allowed to escape the consequences of his rashness, only leaving behind him some cannons and two hundred men in killed and wounded.

On the 28th of June Howe called in all his detachments, concentrated his army at Amboy, and, on the following day, passed in earnest over to Staten Island, leaving Washington entire master of the Jerseys. He had suddenly altered his whole plan of operation. The fleet, with transports, was collected at Staten Island, and in the hottest season of the year he crammed his troops, both cavalry and infantry, in the holds of these vessels, thereby exposing them to the chances of a

* Stedman.—Gordon.—Marshall.

greater mortality than they would have run the risk of if they had attacked Washington in his lines. Howe's officers were at a loss to divine what he meant to do. Some knew that he was expected to ascend the Hudson to Albany, in order to co-operate with General Burgoyne, who was moving in an opposite direction from Canada, with the intention of descending from Ticonderoga towards Albany; and it is assumed that if Howe had proceeded in that direction, or had only detached two thousand men to Albany, the sad catastrophe which befell our army from Canada would never have happened. But Howe apparently thought that Burgoyne might shift for himself, and that the grand object of his own campaign must now be the taking of Philadelphia. To this end he had embarked the mass of his army on the 5th of July; but it was the 23rd before he sailed from Sandy Hook, and it was the 30th before he got round the coasts to the capes of Delaware. It was the worst time of the year for such a voyage, as the southerly wind at that season usually blows nineteen days out of twenty, and his course was to the southward. He did not make the Chesapeak till the middle of August. The soldiers seemed worn out by this long confinement on ship-board—the horses had, for the most part, become nearly useless. He then proceeded up the river, but it was the 28th of August before his troops were landed and formed at Elk Head; and it was the 2nd of September before he put his van in motion on the road leading to Philadelphia. On the 3rd his advanced body fell in with some detachments of the enemy, scattered them, and took post on Iron Hill (their position). Howe followed, and on the 8th of September his whole army moved onward. On the 11th they got sight of the American army; for Washington had been allowed ten times more than time enough to march from Middle Brook back to Philadelphia, and from Philadelphia to the Brandywine River, which, on his present line of march, Howe must necessarily cross in order to get at the great object of his campaign. Nay, the Americans had had time to erect batteries and other works at the forks of the Brandywine, and to strengthen

positions, which were naturally strong, on some rising wooded ground, a little in the rear of the fords. Notwithstanding their formidable position, Howe instantly resolved to attack them; and this time his attack was made both with judgment and celerity. The Americans, leaving some of their guns behind them, fled by all the roads that were open to them, and by many a wood and wild where there were no roads at all. With such men as he could keep together, Washington retreated to Chester. His march was encumbered with baggage and artillery; yet no pursuit was ordered, and he was permitted to pass the night without disturbance in Chester, Howe remaining on the field of battle, eight miles off. On the following morning Washington marched by Derby to Philadelphia, and there he was allowed two whole days to collect his scattered troops and remove his stores. The Americans suffered considerably in this battle: 300 of them were killed, about 600 wounded, and 400 taken prisoners. The British did not acknowledge more than 100 killed and 400 wounded.

It was at Brandywine that the famed Marquis de la Fayette first came into action on the side of the Americans. This vain warm-headed Frenchman had imbibed the political notions of the new school of philosophy, which for some time had been sowing the seeds of revolution in France; and he had been further converted by the adroit representations of Silas Deane, the friend of John the Painter. La Fayette was at that moment (1776) scarcely nineteen years old; but he was a Marquis and had money; and it was hoped by Deane that, between the old French animosities against England and the new political philosophy so fashionable at Paris, and the ardent love of war natural to Frenchmen, his example would be followed by other men of rank and property. La Fayette had an independent revenue of nearly 200,000 livres—a great fortune for France. Though so young, he was married; but it does not appear that his wife was any serious impediment; although she was, at the time he resolved to depart, in an interesting situation. Preparations were making at the moment to send a French

ship to America, but the very bad news which arrived damped the popular or commercial ardour, and defeated the scheme. According to La Fayette's own account, even Silas Deane was despairing of the cause, when he (La Fayette) told him, he would purchase a ship on his own account to carry out arms and officers. At the end of 1776 Franklin arrived at Paris to assist his brother minister, Silas Deane, in inducing the French government to declare itself openly, and contract an alliance, offensive and defensive, with the United States. La Fayette corresponded with Franklin through the medium of another American, who was less generally known, and the philosopher encouraged the youth's enthusiasm. At the beginning of 1777—the present year—La Fayette came over to London, where his wife's uncle was residing as ambassador. He says that, on arriving in our capital, he first paid his respects to Mr. Bancroft, an American, and afterwards to his British majesty—that he liked the idea of playing a trick upon the king he was going to fight against—that he danced at the house of Lord George Germaine, the minister for the affairs of America, and at the house of Lord Rawdon, who had just returned from New York—and that he saw at the opera General Clinton, whom he was afterwards to meet on the field of battle. But, anxious to defend his character for honour and sincerity, and to escape the odium which must ever attach to the proceedings of a spy, he adds—"Whilst I concealed my intentions of going to make war in America, I openly avowed my sentiments; I often defended the Americans; I rejoiced at their success at Trenton; and my *opposition spirit obtained for me an invitation to breakfast with Lord Shelburne.* I refused the offers made me to visit the seaports, the vessels fitting out against the *rebels*, and every thing that might be construed into an abuse of confidence." * After some delays and one or two adventures, the French government *pretending* rather than *intending* to stop him, he got on board his ship towards the end of February, and set sail for

* Memoirs written by himself.

America, accompanied by Baron Kalb and a few other adventurers, some French, some Germans, some Poles. He had the good fortune to escape the English cruisers, and after a seven weeks' voyage, he landed at Georgetown, in Carolina. On the 31st of July the congress expressed their sense of his accession to their cause in warm terms, and resolved that the inexperienced young man should have the rank and commission of Major-General. He had advanced with Washington to the Brandywine, where he first came under fire, and was shot in the leg. The Baron Saint Overy, another French volunteer, was made prisoner soon after the action: and De Coudry, a French general, was drowned, or drowned himself, in the Schuylkill. Pulawski, a noble Pole, commanded a squadron of American light horse in the battle of the Brandywine. But these Polish patriots, who had been driven from their own country, and could live in no other save by the sword, were not all on one side; for Count Grabowski was serving under the banner of King George.

On the 17th of September Washington fell back to Warwick Furnace, on the south branch of French Creek. Howe did nothing but unite his columns. From French Creek Washington detached General Wayne with 1500 men to cross a rough country, and get, if possible, in Howe's rear. But Wayne's movement was discovered also; and on the 20th of September, when he was concealing himself in some woods on the left wing of the British army, he was attacked in the middle of the night by General Grey, who had given strict orders that not a gun should be fired, and that bayonets alone should be used. Wayne was both surprised and signally defeated.

Washington now gave up the notion of defending the line of the Schuylkill and covering Philadelphia. He retreated so as to leave the road open; and, on the 22nd of September, General Howe began to cross the Schuylkill. By the following day his whole army was over the river; on the 26th they entered German Town; and, on the following day, Lord Cornwallis took possession of Phila-

phia, from which the members of congress had fled only a few days before. They had threatened that they would set fire to the place rather than see it fall into the hands of the British; but they abandoned the terrible design, and no incendiaries were left as at New York.

But the quiet possession of the city did not give Howe the command of the Delaware; and some tremendous works erected on that river prevented his direct communication with the British fleet. The Americans had also fire-ships, gun-boats, row-galleys, and two frigates in the river; and these vessels fired on all our posts, and even on the city.

The British were occupied in making their preparations for reducing these forts, and in covering, through a considerable line of country, convoys of provisions and stores, when Washington, who was encamped at Skippack Creek, about seventeen miles from German Town, and who had been reinforced by 2500 men, determined to attempt a surprise. Favoured by a thick fog, he, at six in the evening of the 3rd of October, quitted his encampment, and by dawn of day his van made an attack on a body of our troops posted at the head of the village of German town, which consisted of one long street—said then to have been two miles in length—about six or seven miles from Philadelphia. After some hard fighting all Washington's five columns were either foiled or repulsed. He then retreated to his old position at Skippack Creek, having left about eight hundred killed and wounded, and about four hundred prisoners behind him. Among his killed was General Nash of North Carolina.

On the 8th of October, Admiral Lord Howe with the mass of the British fleet ascended the Delaware as far as the town of Newcastle, a little above which place the Americans had erected strong wooden piers to defend the approaches to a line of sunken frames which blocked up the passage of the river. A body of sailors was landed to assist the troops in erecting batteries to reduce the American works on Mud Island; but the ground opposite to that island was so boggy that our operations proceeded very slowly. It was not until the 15th of

November that the Americans were driven from those works.

Two days after the fall of Mud Island, Lord Cornwallis proceeded against the redoubt on Red Bank with such a force and with such materials as should have been employed in the first instance. On his approach the Americans fled as fast as their brethren had fled from the island; and the flotilla—the gun-boats and row-galleys which those land-works had protected—were abandoned and burnt. At last, a free communication was established, along the Delaware, between the ocean and Philadelphia, between the British army and navy. But it was already the season of short days and cold nights: and Howe, as we have seen, had no taste for winter campaigns. We imagine that he thought the work of the year done, when Washington rather suddenly made a movement in advance that seemed to compel further exertion. Being reinforced by four thousand men from the army of the north, which had certainly done its work by capturing Burgoyne, he quitted his strong position at Skippack Creek, and advanced to a still stronger one at White Marsh, only fourteen miles from Philadelphia and Howe's head-quarters. On the night of the 4th of December, Howe marched out of Philadelphia, and, on the following morning, took post on Chesnut Hill, in front of Washington's right wing. Howe remained for two days drawn out in line, to tempt Washington to an engagement on ground of his own choosing. But the Americans were not inclined to risk a battle in the open country; and with the exception of a slight skirmish, in which some of their militia ran like a rabble before Colonel Abercrombie and his light infantry, nothing took place. On the night of the 6th Howe again put his army in motion, marched from Washington's right to his left wing, and on the following morning ascended Edge Hill, about a mile from the American left. A strong body of the victorious army of the north were on the crest of that hill, but they were soon driven from it by the British van, led by Lord Cornwallis, and they retreated so rapidly that Washing-

ton's left was thrown into some dismay or confusion. This was a favourable moment for trying an attack, and in the course of the morning another good opportunity offered; yet Howe did not avail himself of these advantages, and, after viewing all that side of the encampment, and seeing that Washington was determined not to quit it, he, on the afternoon of the 8th, returned with the army to Philadelphia. On the night of the 10th, Washington abandoned his position, and began to cross to the west bank of the Schuylkill. Early in the morning, as his van began to form on that side of the river, they were most unexpectedly charged by Lord Cornwallis, who drove them back to their bridge of boats, and took possession of some heights which commanded it. Washington was greatly disconcerted, and, fancying that Howe was in the rear of Cornwallis, he broke up his bridge and moved higher up the river. But Cornwallis was neither supported nor in any force. The winter had now set in with great severity; but if Washington went into winter-quarters in Lancaster, York, and Carlisle, the nearest towns capable of accommodating his army, he would leave a wide and fertile country open to the British troops, and a population but too well disposed to accept the pardons which the Howes offered. He therefore resolved to keep the field, and to occupy during the whole winter such a position as should keep Howe in check, and the city of Philadelphia in great discomfort. This was one of Washington's brightest inspirations, and the way in which he executed his plan did the highest honour to his steadiness, his perseverance, and wonderful power of command. He selected a strong piece of ground, thickly covered with wood, at Valley Forge, on the west side of the Schuylkill, and not above twenty-five miles from Philadelphia. Tents were scarce in his army, and even if he had been well supplied, few men could have braved the winter with impunity under mere canvass; Washington, therefore, introduced or extended the backwoodsman's practice of hutting. On the east and south of his encampment, he drew an entrenchment with a ditch six feet wide and three or four deep. He began

two redoubts, but they were never finished, as he clearly saw that Howe was determined to keep warm and dry in his winter-quarters, and that no attack was to be apprehended. His left was covered by the Schuylkill, with a moveable bridge across it; his right was somewhat open and accessible; and, notwithstanding his intrenchment, the centre of his front was contemptibly weak. His rear was, for the most part, covered by an abrupt precipice, at the foot of which flowed Valley Creek, which had a narrow passage through the rocks to the Schuylkill. With reference to the duties of covering the fertile country and harassing Philadelphia, the spot was well chosen; but, as a defensive position, it was weak and bad. An active enemy would have allowed him time neither to dig his intrenchment nor construct his huts, and defeat in such a place must have been attended with the most fatal consequences. But Howe ate his meat, drank his wine, and played his game at cards in Philadelphia, in seeming forgetfulness of there being such a place in his neighbourhood as Valley Forge.*

We turn from the operations of the main British army to our unfortunate movements from the side of Canada. For parliamentary reasons our ministers had thought proper to take the command from General Carleton, who had re-established our supremacy on the lakes the year before, and to confer it, against the ordinary rules of the service, upon General Burgoyne, a brave man, and in many respects a skilful and excellent officer, but one little acquainted with the country and the manners of its various inhabitants. Carleton, who had long resided in Canada, who knew the country well, and who had an immense personal influence with the people of all classes, felt himself aggrieved, and his disgust was heightened by his not being allowed a voice or the shadow of a will in the plans to be pursued. These plans were minutely and absolutely laid down by our ministers at home, who only knew the country through maps that were inaccurate and through reports that were contradictory, and who seem

* Stedman.—Gordon.—Ramsay.—Marshall.

to have been awfully blind to the fact that campaigns are not things to be made by sedentary men in a cabinet, but by generals commanding in the field. Lord North had no taste or talent for war; the war minister, Lord Barrington, entertained notions diametrically opposite to those of his colleagues, and was scarcely consulted; and the authorship of the plans was pretty generally attributed to the joint heads of General Burgoyne, George III., and Lord George Germaine. Carleton sent over his resignation as Governor of Canada; but, as he was bound to remain till a successor should arrive, he did what he could, or what he was ordered to do, to assist Burgoyne in opening the campaign, and to support him while engaged in it. It is said by some that his co-operation was destitute of heart and spirit; it could scarcely be otherwise; but we have so much confidence in his high sense of honour and patriotism as to believe that Carleton, throughout the unfortunate and vexatious business, did his best. A considerable body of veteran troops being sent out from England, Burgoyne's force amounted to 7200 men, rank and file, exclusive of the corps of artillery. Nearly half of these were Germans. The French Canadians, to the number of 2000 or 3000, were furnished with arms, hatchets, and other implements; and engaged to occupy the woods on the frontiers of the province, to make roads, to complete the fortifications on the river Sorel, at Forts St. John and Chamblée, and at the Isle aux Noix; they were also to act as pioneers and scouts, and another body of them were to accompany the army as baggage-men, with horses and carts. In addition to this force, Burgoyne, by the express orders of ministers, had put under arms several nations or tribes of Red Indians, who inhabited the back settlements and the borders of the western lakes, and who were so eager for the war that his only difficulty was in preventing an over-numerous accession. He knew, and every one else in the country knew, that if we did not engage these savages to fight against the Americans, the Americans would endeavour to engage them to fight against us; but as a man of humanity he exerted himself

to check the native ferocity of the tribes, and to teach them to make war like civilized men. He was told, by those who knew more of the red men, that he might as well attempt to change their natural colour, by washing them with soap and water. Burgoyne was furnished with picked and experienced officers, among whom were Major-general Philips, Brigadier-general Fraser, Brigadiers Powell and Hamilton, the Brunswick Major-general Reidesel, and Brigadier-general Specht. The first thing he was to do was to take Ticonderoga. The starting point was Fort St. John, on the Sorel; and, having detached Colonel St. Leger, with between seven and eight hundred men, to make a diversion on the side of the Mohawk river, Burgoyne set out from St. John on the 16th of June, preceded by the shipping, and attended on the right and left flank by columns of Indians. The Americans were in considerable force at Crown Point, but they retired at the approach of our flotilla, and the troops were safely landed at that point. When this operation was over Burgoyne treated the Indians with a war feast, and again entreated them to relinquish their old and cherished habits. He, however, put into his proclamation or manifesto a terrible picture of Indian ferocity, and threatened such of the insurgents as should continue in their obstinacy with its unavoidable effects. Having erected magazines and some slight defences at Crown Point, Burgoyne, in a few days, proceeded to Ticonderoga. The Americans there had erected several new works, and had, moreover, fortified Mount Independence, a high hill on the eastern shore of the lake opposite to Ticonderoga, to which they had united it by a strong bridge, which effectually prevented any attack by water. But there was another hill, called Sugar Hill, which commanded both Ticonderoga and Mount Independence, and the American general in command, St. Clair, had neither occupied nor fortified it; and there was still another hill called Mount Hope, which commanded part of their line, and which was equally neglected. Major-general Philips took possession of Mount Hope on the 2nd of July, and on the following day, Sugar Hill was

occupied. Our troops, with wonderful rapidity, threw up works for investing the place in form; but on the night of the 5th of July the Americans evacuated both Ticonderoga and Mount Independence, and, putting their baggage and provisions on board of batteaux, they fled by the only road that remained open to them to Skenesborough. The batteaux went along the South River, the entrance to which was defended by booms and an immense framework of timber, sunk in the water, which was said to have cost the Americans near twelve months' labour; but, as soon as their flight was discovered, our sailors fell upon these works, and in the course of a very few hours destroyed them. A brigade of gun-boats then shot into the river, and proceeded with such speed that they overtook the American batteaux, near the falls of Skenesborough. Some large galleys bore down the river to defend the batteaux, but they were beaten, boarded, and taken; and most of the batteaux were destroyed. General Burgoyne, with one part of his army, followed with other gun-boats and two small frigates, while Generals Fraser and Reidesel marched by land after St. Clair. When Burgoyne approached the falls of Skenesborough he was saluted by a heavy fire of artillery, but as soon as he began to land his men the Americans fled from their stockade-fort and other works, and left him in quiet possession of Skenesborough, which had remained in the hands of the Americans, like Ticonderoga, ever since the first surprise by Ethan Allen. The Americans, who had occupied the place, retired hastily to Fort Anne; and in the course of the day nearly all the baggage of their army, and a great part of their military stores, were either taken by the British, or burnt and destroyed by themselves.* General St. Clair marched with such headlong haste that he reached Castletown, nearly thirty miles from Ticonderoga, that very night; but his rear-guard, under Colonel Warner, did not move quite so fast, and halted six miles short of Castletown, on some

* Marshall Life of Washington.—Stedman.—Annual Register.

rising ground, partially covered with trees. At an early hour on the following morning they were there discovered by General Fraser, who had been close on their heels the greater part of the preceding day—one of the hottest days in July—but he had now scarcely more than 800 men with him; whereas Colonel Warner was from 1200 to 1500 strong, advantageously posted, and with his men covered with a sort of breastwork, composed of logs and old trees. Fraser, who was as brave as steel, determined, nevertheless, to attack, being confident that the body of Germans, under Reidesel, who had started with him on the pursuit, but had been left behind, would soon come up to his assistance. Warner also had assistance within reach; but two regiments of militia, instead of attending to his summons, turned their backs upon him, and fled to Castletown as soon as they saw the head of Fraser's little column. Fraser led his men up the hill to the breastwork: a terrible, and, for some time, a doubtful conflict ensued, for the Germans did not come quite so soon as he expected them. But when Reidesel appeared, with a full band of music playing, the Americans conceived that all the German troops were with him—whereas, in truth, he had only a few companies; and they then abandoned the hill, and fled for Castletown as fast as their militia. Their loss had been appalling: Colonel Francis, several other officers, and above 200 men, were left dead on the field; 1 colonel, 7 captains, 10 subalterns, and 210 privates, were made prisoners; while nearly 600 wounded crawled away to perish in the woods, in a vain attempt to escape to the inhabited country.* Fraser lost Major Pratt, and had about 20 inferior officers and about 150 privates killed and wounded. During this action Burgoyne, with the principal division of the British army, was at Skenesborough, where he halted several days; and the American general, St. Clair, was at Castletown. The latter now retired in all haste to Manchester, and thence to Fort Edward (on the left bank of the Hudson, about

* When Warner joined St. Clair, he had with him only ninety men!

equidistant from Saratoga and from Fort George at the southern end of the lakes) leaving Colonel Long to defend Fort Anne. But Long was overtaken, and thoroughly beaten by Colonel Hill; and, instead of defending Fort Anne, he set fire to it, and fled to join St. Clair.

At this critical juncture, General Schuyler, the commander-in-chief of the American army of the north, who was bringing up reinforcements to defend, as he supposed, Ticonderoga and Mount Independence, reached Saratoga, to be overwhelmed by the news of a rapid succession of defeats and disasters. He relied, however, on the rough country which the British must traverse; and, calling in St. Clair and Long, and the wreck of that army, he fixed his head-quarters at Fort Edward, broke up the roads and the bridges, blocked up the creeks and rivers, and swept the country bare of live stock and all kinds of provisions. At the same time he implored Congress, who were wholly absorbed by the strange desultory movements made by Howe in the beginning of his campaign, to send him reinforcements of regular troops; he called up the militia and the backwoodsmen of New England and New York; he wrote the most pressing letters in all directions; and he succeeded, by degrees, in collecting a numerous though motley force. On landing at Crown Point Burgoyne had addressed the American people in a proclamation, and now, from his head-quarters at Skenesborough, he issued a second manifesto, summoning the people of the adjacent country to send deputies from each township, to meet at Castletown, in order to deliberate on such measures as might still be adopted to save from punishment those who had not yet conformed to his first proclamation and submitted to the royal authority. To counteract this document, General Schuyler issued a proclamation, in the name of the Congress of the United States, citing the example of Jersey, to show the treatment the people would receive if they allowed themselves to be deluded by proclamations, and threatening them, in the same breath with death, as traitors, if they sent any deputation, or afforded any manner of aid, to the enemy.

At the same time Schuyler contrived to make a letter fall into the hands of Burgoyne, so written as to bewilder the English general, and make him hesitate whether he should advance or retreat. At last Burgoyne resolved to advance, according to the original plan laid down for his campaign, and which plan included about the worst route which he could have pursued. Instead of retracing his steps to Ticonderoga, and embarking on Lake George to proceed to Fort George, whence there was a waggon-road to the place of his destination, Fort Edward, he struck across the country with the mass of his force, and sent General Philips, with a strong detachment, to proceed by Lake George, with the artillery, provisions, and baggage. The land journey was as difficult as the water communication was easy: Burgoyne had to pass swamps and morasses, numerous creeks, ravines, and gullies, over which it was necessary to throw bridges; and he was obliged to consume more time in clearing the roads of the forest-trees, which the Americans had cut down and disposed in such a manner as to intersect each other. The swampy, wooded country abounded with mosquitoes and other insects, to a degree almost intolerable to Europeans, and the weather was close and sultry. Nevertheless, the men bore all these annoyances and their excessive fatigue with great good humour; and on the 30th of July they reached the river Hudson, near Fort Edward; Schuyler retiring across the Hudson at their approach. If Howe had ascended that river from New York, the Americans could scarcely have been in a condition to resist the two united armies; but Howe, a month before, had retreated to Staten Island, and, on the 23rd of July, one week before Burgoyne reached the upper course of the Hudson, had sailed away for the Delaware. It is said that Howe had distinctly given Burgoyne to understand that his plan of operations did not allow him to co-operate on the upper part of the Hudson. Yet his own object, the capture of Philadelphia, was utterly insignificant, if compared to the results which might have been expected from the united operations of the two armies on the Hudson, which must have

split America into two, by separating the northern from the southern provinces: but Howe, who had begun late, and who had twice changed his own scheme of campaign, evidently had no affection to the plan for the execution of which another had been appointed in the first place, and the honour of which, if successful, would fall more to Burgoyne than to himself.

As soon as Burgoyne was assured that Howe would not co-operate, he ought to have retreated to the Lakes, for, with a small army like his, he could scarcely occupy forts or positions enough to keep the country in awe, or even to keep the communications open with Canada; and the most that he could hope from the most brilliant success was to make a military promenade through the country to New York, where he was not wanted. Nevertheless, he resolved to continue on the advance, and he merely waited in the neighbourhood of Fort Edward for the arrival of General Philips with the artillery, provisions, and stores, and for the junction of Colonel St. Leger, who had proceeded on a different line of march from the first, and who was now descending from Oswego, the Oneida Lake, and Wood Creek, by the Mohawk River, which falls into the Hudson between Saratoga and Albany. Unfortunately St. Leger stopped at the upper end of the Mohawk to lay siege to Stanwix Fort, called by the Americans Fort Schuyler, a place strongly situated. Upon receiving this information, Burgoyne, who had already split his army into too many parts, thought it would be necessary to co-operate with St. Leger; and, as preparatory to this step, and in order to get possession of bullocks, waggons, and other things necessary for the journey, he detached Colonel Baum to surprise Bennington, a place between the forks of the Hosick River, about twenty-four miles to the eastward of the Hudson, where the Americans had deposited the supplies of cattle, carts, provisions, and stores they were receiving from the New England provinces. The German troops had many good qualities; but rapidity of motion, which alone can ensure success in attempting surprises, was certainly not among the number:

they were, perhaps, naturally slower than the English; and they were, moreover, borne down under the weight of the monstrously exaggerated equipments of Frederick the Great, their hats and swords weighing very nearly as much as the whole equipment of other soldiers. "The worst British regiment in the service," says Stedman, "would with ease have marched two miles for their one." Yet, in spite of these facts and the warm remonstrances of General Fraser and other officers of rank, Burgoyne persisted in employing Germans to surprise Bennington. Another capital mistake was, that he sent only 600 men on an expedition that required at least three times the number. On his first day's march Baum, the commander of the detachment, took prisoners a considerable body of Americans, who had assembled in a wood to check his progress. Colonel Skene, the original owner of Skenesborough, who, on account of his local knowledge, had been appointed inspector-general, insisted that these prisoners ought to be kindly treated and then liberated, which would have the effect of detaching them from the cause of Congress. Poor Baum, who knew little or nothing of the country, the people, or their language, followed Skene's advice; and the liberated Americans went straight to Bennington. On the second day's march, Baum captured some cattle and routed a small party near a village called Cambridge. Not far from this place he was brought to a halt, by intelligence that the Americans were assembling in great force for the defence of Bennington. Baum applied to Burgoyne for reinforcements, and another *German* detachment, of only 500 men, under the command of Lieutenant-colonel Breyman, was sent to his assistance. This Breyman, like most of his school, was a pedant and a formalist, who had no notion of marching even through a rough country except with all the order and precision of the drill-ground; he halted ten times an hour to dress his ranks; and before he came up Colonel Baum was completely surrounded at St. Coieck's Mill, on Walloon Creek, by General Starke and Colonel Warner, who had with them a force which constantly kept increasing,

and which at one moment exceeded 1800 men. Baum, as stanch as he was slow, endured for upwards of an hour a terrible discharge of musketry and rifles from every side, and three several times drove the Americans from some high ground on which they were stationed; but at last he was brought down by a rifle-shot, and then the Germans retreated into some woods in the direction of Fort Edward, leaving their commander mortally wounded on the field of battle. At this desperate moment Breyman, who had employed twenty-four hours in marching sixteen miles, came up. Had he been *one little hour* sooner, the fate of the day might have been different; but now he had nothing to do but to put the fugitives of Baum's detachment into some order, and retreat to the place he had come from. Starke and Warner made several hot attacks, and endeavoured to surround him; but he bravely fought his way through and reached Burgoyne's outposts when he had fired almost his last cartridge. It is worthy of note, that the prisoners taken by Baum, and liberated at the instance of Skene, were found among the fiercest combatants at St. Coieck's Mill! Instead of taking Bennington, the bullock-waggons, &c., Burgoyne lost about 500 men in killed and wounded in this ill-judged expedition.

In the meanwhile Colonel St. Leger, left to himself with his 600 light troops and his tribes of savages, was prosecuting the siege of Stanwix Fort. On the 5th of August he received intelligence that the American general Harkimer was advancing to the relief of the place with 1000 men. St. Leger instantly detached Sir John Johnson with the Indian tribes and a party of regulars into the woods to lie in close ambush. Harkimer, coming on confidently and incautiously, fell into the trap. Nearly 400 Americans were killed or wounded, and the rest fled back to the Hudson. But as St. Leger had only light field-pieces with him, which could make no impression on the works, the garrison of Fort Stanwix still held out; and the savages growing weary of the siege, and being informed by some crafty Yankee spies that Burgoyne's army had been cut to pieces, peremptorily

insisted upon retiring. To stop this desertion a council of their chiefs was called; but even while it was sitting a large party of the savages folded their blankets and departed. News also arrived that the daring and active Arnold was approaching with 2000 men and ten pieces of artillery. A retreat was thus necessary; but it was managed so badly that St. Leger left behind him his artillery and stores, and his tents standing. Arnold, who was really advancing up the Mohawk River, did not arrive at Fort Stanwix until two days after the siege had been raised!*

There was much to discourage, and positively nothing to encourage, the advance of the main army; yet, having collected his artillery, and provisions for about thirty days, and having constructed a bridge of boats, Burgoyne, on the 13th and 14th of September, passed his whole army across the Hudson, and then encamped on the heights and plains of Saratoga. General Gates, who had just taken the chief command of the American army in the North over the head of Schuyler, and who was now joined by Arnold with his 2000 men, was lying on an island near the confluence of the Mohawk with the Hudson, about eight miles above Albany, and called "Still Water," where he had a strong star-redoubt and other defences. The place was merely insulated by swamps and shallow water, easily passed by foot. On the night of the 17th, after incredible labour in erecting bridges, to bear their artillery and baggage over numerous creeks and ravines, the British army encamped within four miles of the American army; but between their encampment and Still Water the country was equally rugged and seamed with water-courses, and the whole of the 18th was spent in laying down bridges and temporary causeways.

On the morning of the 19th the mass of the British army formed close in front of the American left; our right wing, including part of the foreigners, was commanded by Burgoyne, and covered by General Fraser

* Stedman.—Gordon.—Marshall.—Burke in Ann. Reg.

with the grenadiers and light infantry; the front and flanks were covered by Indians and Canadians; the left wing and artillery were commanded by General Philips and Reidesel, who stood across the only good road that existed. Instead of waiting to be attacked in his muddy position, Gates threw out 5000 men to attempt turning our right and attacking General Burgoyne in his rear. But a discovery of the strong position of General Fraser, whom they had not seen, made them fall back. Gates's detachment, being reinforced and led on by Arnold, fell upon Burgoyne and the right wing, and a smart engagement began at three o'clock in the afternoon, which lasted till after sunset. Arnold behaved with extraordinary gallantry; but he could make an impression nowhere, although the weight of the action fell on three or four of our regiments, the rest of our right being stationed on some hills, and the Germans occupying a position at some distance. Every time that Arnold was beaten back Gates sent him more men from the star-redoubt. Why Burgoyne, who contemplated a decisive action, did not engage in full force, may possibly be accounted for by the nature of the country, and by the circumstances of his being embarrassed by a long train of artillery, which was next to useless, as he could not drag it through bogs and swamps, or get it rapidly into proper positions. As it grew dark the fire of the Americans slackened, and during the night Gates evacuated the ground in front of Still Water, and collected all his troops into, and round, the star-redoubt. He had lost two superior officers, a great many subalterns, and from 500 to 600 men in killed and wounded; but Burgoyne's loss was scarcely inferior. The British army lay all night on their arms in the field of battle; and as day dawned they began to erect works within cannon-shot of the enemy, with strong redoubts on their right. At the same time the Americans attended to strengthening their positions; and thus the two armies lay from the 26th of September till the 7th of October, an interval of time most fatal to Burgoyne, who consumed nearly all his provisions. Every possible method was taken to inform

General Howe of his situation, and the strongest of arguments were employed to induce either a co-operation or a diversion in his favour. Howe, who had just taken Philadelphia, and who had not yet taken and destroyed the forts and strong works on the Delaware, was wholly occupied by Washington and those works, and could scarcely spare a thought on Burgoyne. Sir Henry Clinton, who was in command of the troops left at New York, took the responsibility upon himself, and informed Burgoyne that he would do what he could to effect a diversion, by attacking Forts Montgomery and Clinton, on the lower part of the Hudson. Burgoyne, therefore, agreed to remain where he was till the 12th of October, and hoped that the movement from New York up the Hudson would be made with rapidity and decision. But his Indian followers, disappointed in their hopes of plunder, and annoyed at his endeavours to check their ferocity, began to desert from him, as they had done from St. Leger. Besides, their hunting season was now arrived, which no inducement could make them forego. Their desertion much weakened Burgoyne, who would not, however, think of retreating. On the side of the Americans the delay was attended with all kinds of advantages: Gates, who had proclaimed the affair of Still Water as a great victory, was reinforced every day both from the southern and from the northern provinces; the militia, who had been as timid as hares, became as bold as bull-dogs, and stores and provisions were brought up to him with surprising rapidity. Besides Arnold, General Lincoln had come up to Still Water with a force estimated even by the Americans at 2000 men. He no longer thought of a retreat, and, at the suggestion of Arnold, he adopted a scheme likely to reduce Burgoyne to the hard necessity of an unconditional surrender. He detached a considerable body of New England militia, which had assembled in the rear of the British army, to surprise Ticonderoga, Mount Independence, and Fort George, to capture or destroy all the stores there, and to cut off Burgoyne from his supplies and from Canada. The detachment, under the command of one Colonel

Brown, got by night to the north end of Lake George, and surprised and took a sloop and the boats that were carrying provisions to Burgoyne. Brown then took possession of Mount Hope and Mount Defiance, and began to attack Ticonderoga. Being repulsed there he returned, in the vessels he had captured, through Lake George, and made another attempt upon Diamond Island, where there was a considerable depôt of stores: being repulsed there also by a handful of men, he hastened to the shore, burned all the vessels he had taken, and returned to his former station in Burgoyne's rear. But he had traced the fatal route, and other and stronger corps of Americans collected between the British army and the Lakes. Burgoyne was now obliged to put his men on half rations; his stock of forage was entirely exhausted, and his horses were perishing for the want of it. The red men, who had hitherto remained with him, now began to desert, whole tribes at a time, and the Canadians and loyal Americans lost faith or heart.* No news was heard of Sir H. Clinton's movement up the Hudson, and not a man, not a biscuit, was allowed to reach him from the side of Canada. In this predicament he attempted dislodging Gates, and moved on his left wing with a column of 1500 men, his best troops, commanded by himself and by Philips, Fraser, and Reidesel. This column had scarcely formed in front of Gates's left, when the Americans, issuing from their intrenchments, made a desperate attack on the left of the British army, where Burgoyne had left the grenadiers under the command of Major Ackland. As soon as this attack began a body of 2000 men were sent out to meet Burgoyne's column,

* "The Indians," says an American writer, "finding themselves beaten in the woods by Morgan, and *restrained from scalping and plundering the unarmed by Burgoyne*—who saw before them the prospect of hard fighting without profit—grew tired of the service, and deserted in great numbers. The Canadians and provincials were not much more faithful; and Burgoyne soon perceived that his hopes must rest almost entirely on his European troops."—Marshall, *Life of Washington.*

and Morgan and his rifle corps stole round under cover of some woods, and opened a fire on the flank of the column. Other troops came out from the American intrenchments, and, while some laboured to crush the British left, others endeavoured to throw themselves between Burgoyne's column and his lines. Under the eye and voice of Major Ackland the grenadiers kept their ground most manfully; but Burgoyne, with his 1500, was obliged to abandon six field-pieces he had taken out with him, and to run back to his camp. Morgan and his riflemen were now getting on the flank of our right wing. General Fraser, with the light infantry and the 24th regiment, marched to dislodge them: he succeeded, but fell mortally wounded under the shots of the American marksmen, who were placed behind trees and accustomed to pick out officers. Shortly after Burgoyne's return to his camp, a loose irregular attack was made nearly all along his lines, and, while this was sustained, Arnold, in great force, made a steady concentrated attack upon the intrenchments on our extreme right, and Lieutenant-Colonel Brooks made a similar assault on the left.

Arnold was repulsed, wounded, and had another horse killed under him; but Brooks was more successful—for, falling upon a part of the intrenchments defended by the German troops under Colonel Breyman, he effected a passage: Breyman was killed, and his men, after much slaughter, which was not all on one side, retreated with the loss of all their baggage and artillery. Night closed on the scene of carnage, but Brooks kept the ground he had won within the line of our intrenchments, as orders given by Burgoyne to drive him back were not attended to. During the day about 200 men and officers were taken by the Americans, and the British loss in killed and wounded was very considerable for so small an army. In losing General Fraser, Burgoyne lost the bravest and best officer serving with him. On the following morning before daybreak, Burgoyne changed his position, which was scarcely tenable since the impression made by Brooks; and with great secrecy and silence, and much skill, he removed his whole army, with all their baggage

and artillery, to some heights above the bank of the Hudson, extending his right up that river. Gates changed his position also, but carefully avoided an engagement, which the British endeavoured to bring on by repeated attacks on outposts and by several brisk skirmishes right in front of the American line. The whole day, the 8th of October, was spent in this manner; but, in the course of the night and the following morning, Gates, who had received still more reinforcements, sent off a strong party higher up the Hudson to occupy good ground on the right bank, and he threw other strong columns over to the left bank, in order to guard the passages and intercept the retreat of the British—a movement which was now inevitable. Burgoyne, however, discovered the movement on the right bank, and prevented its effect by ascending the river to Saratoga; but the suddenness and rapidity of this movement obliged him to leave all his sick and wounded in the hospital behind him. Gates behaved with much humanity to these unhappy prisoners, who amounted to about 300. Otherwise the retreat to Saratoga was effected without loss and without any obstruction. But on the 10th, when Burgoyne reached the fords of Fish-kill Creek, which lie a little to the northward of Saratoga, he found the Americans collected in force on the opposite side of the creek. The fire of a few guns scattered these men, but they only retired over the Hudson, to the much larger force which Gates had stationed there to obstruct the passage. Burgoyne's present design was to ascend the Hudson by its right bank, and get to Fort George, at the southern end of Lake George; but the roads could not be passed by an army without considerable repairs, and there were numerous creeks and ravines which could only be crossed by erecting bridges—long, toilsome, and desperate operations for worn-out, half-famished troops, pressed upon from all sides by an enemy five or six times more numerous than themselves, and wonderfully elated by their very unusual success. Burgoyne, nevertheless, sent forward a detachment of artificers, under a strong escort, to open the road and repair the bridges.

We speak with hesitation and doubt, as not fully informed of all the local circumstances, and of the precise condition of the American divisions which occupied the opposite side of the Hudson; but it seems to us that, if Burgoyne, instead of losing a day in attempting to open these roads, had made a dash across the Hudson, he might possibly have got off with the loss of his rear and artillery. The artificers had scarcely begun their work when they were interrupted by swarms of American riflemen, whom the escort could neither reach nor dislodge. The inevitable consequence was, that workmen and escort were all obliged to retreat. In the course of this unlucky day, Gates reinforced his divisions on the left bank of the Hudson immediately opposite to Burgoyne, and supplied them with abundance of artillery, with which they plied the batteaux on the river that were carrying part of the baggage and the miserable remainder of the provisions of the British army. Many of these frail embarkations were taken, and the regular American troops called continentals and the American militia vied with each other in their eagerness for plunder, and their determination to appropriate to themselves whatever they could take. The militia-men, it appears, were more rapacious than the regulars, and inclined to forget all military duty and subordination in their avidity for gain. These fellows, who were chiefly New Englanders, carried their peddling trading spirit with them, and made their quarters a kind of auction mart. It is said that they would often rob the American regulars of what booty they had secured, and sell it on their own account. Irregularities of this kind were carried to such a height, that Gates, in general orders issued on the 12th, declared:—"That he saw so many scandalous and mean transactions committed by persons who sought more after plunder than the honour of doing their duty, that it was his unalterable resolution to have the first person who should thereafter be detected in pillaging the baggage and stores taken from the enemy tried and punished with the utmost severity." Unable to retreat to Fort George by the right bank, Burgoyne

conceived the now desperate project of ascending the river a little higher, and of crossing it in presence of the American detachments on the left bank. He thought it possible to cut his way through these; and, as he had made up his mind to abandon the artillery, which had so continually embarrassed his movements, and to remove nothing but two or three days' provisions, which the men might carry in their knapsacks, he then hoped to be able to effect his retreat to Fort Edward, whence, by a different route, he might reach the Lakes and the British shipping upon them. In pursuance of this plan he sent a body of men up the river, intending to follow with the rest under cover of night. At this desperate crisis he was well-nigh saved by a capital mistake committed by his adversary. Gates called the general officers of the American army together, and informed them of his having received certain intelligence that the main body of Burgoyne's army was marched off for Fort Edward, and that the rear-guard only was left in the camp. Upon this, it was concluded to advance and attack the British camp, which was now very strongly posted upon some heights beyond Fish-kill Creek. The general officers repaired instantly to their respective commands: General Nixon with a whole brigade crossed the creek, and General Glover was upon the point of following him, and had actually entered the water, when a spy or a British deserter came and met him with intelligence more certain than Gates's, that the main body was still in the camp, and well prepared to receive the attack. Glover ran back from the creek, but Nixon was not quite so fortunate, for his advance had brought him up to some brushwood, behind which Burgoyne had a line of troops and some artillery, who, when they saw him halting and turning back on the signals given by Glover, opened a terrible fire upon him, and then drove him with considerable loss and still more confusion across the creek."*

* Dr. Gordon, the Scotsman, with an American heart, tells this story, which, he says, he received from General

If the secret had been kept, and Gates's orders had been executed, as he intended, with only some divisions, from the goodness of their position and from the desperate spirit which animated them, the British would assuredly have gained a victory, the Americans might have been obliged to call in their detachments on the other side of the Hudson, and Burgoyne might have got to Fort Edward. But the breath of the spy or deserter dissipated this hope—and it was the last!—for Burgoyne had now ascertained that the Americans on the other side of the river had formed an intrenched camp, well garnished with artillery, on the high grounds between Fort Edward and Fort George, and that the only roads he could possibly take were blocked up by troops. The men that had advanced up the river, and had got nearly opposite to Fort Edward, were recalled, and once more demonstrations were made to tempt the Americans to battle; but Gates was sure of his prey without fighting or struggling, and his troops had little inclination to attack desperate men in a strong position. The Americans, therefore, remained in their positions, which were equally strong, and such as could scarcely be attacked by so inferior a force. As an additional curse on this doomed expedition, no news was received by Burgoyne touching the movements of Clinton, even when that general had really begun to move and was sweeping the lower part of the Hudson most triumphantly. Nearly every possible mistake had been committed by their generals and commanders in all directions, but the spirit of the British troops under Burgoyne, as everywhere else, was good, manly, and noble to the last; and, in the words of a foreign writer, whose prejudices were engaged on the other side, these soldiers never said a word in their extremity, or did a deed but what was worthy of

Glover himself. Marshall, the American biographer of Washington, says that Gordon is confirmed by General Wilkinson, who was serving with Gates as adjutant-general; and that the narrative of Wilkinson varies from that of Gordon only in minor circumstances.

firm and valorous men.* And by this time, what with the desertion of Indians and Canadians, and the losses in killed, wounded, and prisoners, Burgoyne's army was reduced to 3500 fighting men, and of these scarcely more than one half were British. A visit to the magazines showed that there was not bread for three days. To advance or to retreat was equally impracticable, though many a soldier, many an officer would still have attempted the passage of the Hudson, and a loose straggling retreat through the wild country to the right of Fort Edward. On the morning of the 13th of October Burgoyne called a council of war, at which not only field-officers, but every captain of the weak army attended. It seemed to them all, that nothing was left but to capitulate on the most honourable terms which could be procured. Burgoyne, who was as gallant an officer as ever took the field, and who had first gained renown by a bold and dashing movement,† thus described to the secretary-at-war his situation and the result of the council: —"A series of hard toil, incessant effort, stubborn action, until disabled in the collateral branches of the army by the total defection of the Indians; the desertion or timidity of the Canadians and provincials, some individuals excepted; disappointed in the last hope of any co-operation from other armies; the regular troops reduced by losses from the best parts to 3500 fighting men, not 2000 of which were British; only three days' provisions, upon short allowance, in store; invested by an army of 16,000 men, and no appearance of retreat remaining, I called into council all the generals, field-officers, and captains commanding corps, and by their unanimous concurrence and advice, I was induced to open a treaty with Major-General Gates."‡ It was a bitter step; but early in the evening Burgoyne sent a note to the American head-quarters to say that he was desirous of sending a field-officer with a message to Major-General

* Carlo Botta, Storia della Guerra Americana.

† See his performances in Portugal, ante vol. xvii. p. 142-3.

‡ Letter to Lord George Germaine.

Gates, upon a matter of high moment to both armies, and that he requested to be informed, what hour on the following morning would suit General Gates. The American replied, in the tone of a conqueror, that he would receive a field-officer from Lieutenant-General Burgoyne at the advanced post of the army of the United States at ten o'clock next morning. At the appointed hour Major Kingston appeared at the American advanced post, and delivered the following message to General Gates:—"After having fought you twice, Lieutenant-General Burgoyne has waited some days in his present position, determined to try a third conflict against any force you could bring against him. He is apprised of the superiority of your numbers, and the disposition of your troops to impede his supplies, and render his retreat a scene of carnage on both sides. In this situation he is impelled by humanity, and thinks himself justified, by established principles and precedents of state and war, to spare the lives of brave men upon honourable terms. Should Major-General Gates be inclined to treat upon that idea, General Burgoyne would propose a cessation of arms during the time necessary to communicate the preliminary terms, by which, in any extremity, he and his army mean to abide." To this Gates replied—that, General Burgoyne's army being exceedingly reduced by repeated defeats, by desertion, sickness, &c., their provisions exhausted, their military horses, tents, and baggage taken or destroyed, their retreat cut off, and their camp invested, they could only be allowed to surrender prisoners of war. To this Burgoyne answered, that his army, however reduced, would never admit that their retreat was cut off while they had arms in their hands. Gates had better information than Burgoyne as to Clinton's movements up the Hudson; he had perhaps little confidence in the militia, who composed the principal part of the forces beyond the Hudson; and he was certainly anxious to hasten the capitulation. He, therefore, gradually moderated the conditions of surrender. At first he demanded that Burgoyne's troops should be drawn up in their encampment, and there ordered to

ground their arms. The English general answered that this article was inadmissible in any extremity, and that his army, rather than consent to ground their arms in their encampments—the maximum of military disgrace—would make a rush on the enemy, determined to take no quarter. In the afternoon Gates agreed to a cessation of arms until sunset. In the course of the next day—the 15th—the negotiation was continued; but it was not until the 16th that the articles of convention were finally settled. They imported that Burgoyne's troops were to march out of their camp with all the honours of war, and the artillery to be moved to the verge of the Hudson, and there left, together with the soldiers' arms, the said arms to be piled by word of command from *their own* officers; that a free passage should be granted the troops to Great Britain, on condition of their not serving again in North America during the present contest; that, if any cartel should take place by which Burgoyne's army, or any part of it, should be exchanged, the foregoing article should be void as far as such exchange should extend; that every care should be taken for the proper subsistence of the troops, till they should be embarked; that all officers should retain their carriages, horses, bat-horses, &c., and their baggage be exempt from molestation or search; that on the march and during the time the army should remain at Boston (the port selected for their embarkation) the officers should not be separated from their men; that all corps whatsoever, whether composed of sailors, batteau-men, artificers, drivers, independent companies, and followers of the army, of *whatever country they might be*, should be included in the fullest sense and to the utmost extent of the articles, and comprehended in every respect as British subjects, whose general had capitulated for them (this was an important article, as not a few of the drivers, independent companies, and followers were American royalists); that all Canadians and persons belonging to the Canadian establishment should be permitted a free return to Canada, should be conducted by the shortest route to the British posts on Lake George, should be treated in all respects

like the rest of the army, and should be bound by the same condition not to serve during this war, unless exchanged; that passports should be immediately granted for three officers to carry General Burgoyne's despatches to General Howe at Philadelphia, to Sir Guy Carleton in Canada, and to the government of Great Britain by way of New York; that all officers during their stay in Boston should be admitted on parole, and from first to last be permitted to wear their side arms; that if the army found it necessary to send for their clothing and other baggage from Canada they should be permitted to do so, and have the necessary passports granted them; and, finally, that these articles should be signed and exchanged on the following morning at nine o'clock, and the troops to march out of their entrenchments at three o'clock in the afternoon. These were not such terms as are usually granted to conquered armies; but Gates almost heard the thunder of Clinton's artillery and of the British ships on the lower part of the Hudson.* At the appointed hour the convention was most reluctantly signed in the British camp, and on the afternoon of the 17th of October the troops marched out of their encampment, down to the water-side, to a place called the Old Ford, where they piled their arms at the word of command from their own officers. Several of the officers could scarcely pronounce the words, and many of the men wept as they grounded their muskets. Gates was —what many of the American commanders and officers were not—a gentleman in heart and mind, a man of delicate feelings, and of too good a spirit to revel in the mournful degradation of a brave enemy. He kept away from the spot himself, and it is even said that he would

* Marshall frankly confesses this motive for haste and moderation in Gates:—"The situation of the two armies considered, these terms were highly honourable to the British general, and favourable to his nation. They were probably more advantageous than would have been granted by General Gates, had he entertained no apprehension from Sir Henry Clinton, who was, at length, making the promised diversion on the river."

not suffer his own people to be witnesses to the sad spectacle.* Among the fruits of victory that remained in his hands were about 40 pieces of artillery, 4600 muskets, and a not very considerable quantity of powder and ball. The batteaux on the river and what they contained were scarcely to be counted in this category, for the Connecticut men, the Rhode Islanders, the Massachusetts men, and the other militia-men who had seized them, or the greater part of them, had set them down to a separate and more private account. As soon as intelligence of the surrender was received on the Lakes, the garrisons of Fort George and Ticonderoga evacuated those important places, and retired by the river Sorel to Fort St. John's and Montreal. Burgoyne had requested Carleton in the most pressing manner to forward a regiment to maintain Ticonderoga; but Carleton, in whose recollection the winter exploits of Montgomery and Arnold were fresh, did not think it prudent to weaken any further the feeble force he had for the defence of Canada, and he positively refused to send the regiment.

On the 6th of October, ten days before the capitulation was signed, but twenty days later than Clinton had hoped to commence his co-operation or diversion, that general appeared in force on the Hudson, and began a series of attacks which must have rescued Burgoyne's army if they had been made even only eight or ten days earlier. It does not appear that any particular blame attaches to General Clinton, who, with his 17 battalions, his single regiment of light horse, and his provincial militia, had to defend New York, the great repository of our stores, which was accessible from a variety of points, and which demanded a very considerable force, as, besides General Putnam, who was hovering in the neighbourhood with a small regular army, there were large bodies of cunning and quick Connecticut militia, Massachusetts Bay men, and others, on the watch for opportunities to attack and destroy or carry off

* Stedman.—Carlo Botta.—Burke, in Ann. Regist.—Gordon.—Papers in Almon's Remembrancer.

stores, &c. Reinforcements, which had been promised from Europe, did not arrive at New York till late in September, and then they consisted chiefly, if not entirely, of a body of recruits to make up losses. Almost as soon as they arrived, Clinton, of his own accord and on his own responsibility, embarked about 3000 men, and proceeded up the Hudson to Verplank's Point, on the east bank of the river, and about forty miles above New York. The place had been previously reconnoitred by Lord Rawdon in a frigate. It is situated upon a peninsula, and the landing-place was then defended by a small battery and a breast-work, from which the Americans fled at the approach of our troops. Clinton landed his men without opposition, and passed the night of the 6th upon the peninsula. This feint completely deceived Putnam, who collected about 2000 men, principally drawn from the forts on the Hudson, and hastened with them towards Verplank's Point, in the idea that Clinton meant to advance into the country, and to push through the eastern highlands, in order to co-operate with Burgoyne by the shortest route. On the following morning, at day-break, Clinton passed 2000 of his men to the western bank of the river to Stoney Point, leaving about 1000 on the peninsula. From Stoney Point to Fort Montgomery was a distance of only 12 miles; but the route which Clinton resolved to pursue, hoping thereby to take the enemy by surprise, was one of the roughest and most laborious that can be conceived:—it was impassable to artillery, and therefore no guns had been brought, though the men were marching against fortified places. It was a path across the Denderberg, a steep mountain whose precipices overhang the river. The path was steep, winding, and so narrow that in many places not more than three men could march abreast. Two hundred resolute Americans posted across the paths, and on the hills and rocks above it, might have checked and even destroyed the 2000 British; but Putnam, wholly misled, was on the other side of the Hudson, and the troops left in Forts Montgomery and Clinton never conceived it possible that a regular army could take so dangerous a road. Our troops thus got to the crest of the mountain

and began to descend it on the other side before they were discovered, though they were many hours performing that toilsome march. At the foot of the mountain our advanced guard stumbled upon an American detachment, which was advancing much too late for the defence of the pass. The Americans fled back to the forts, thus destroying the hope of taking those places by surprise at the approach of night. Clinton, however, resolved to go on and trust to his muskets and bayonets. The two forts he meant to attack stood on too high ground to be battered from the water; they were separated from each other only by a creek which runs from the mountains and empties itself into the Hudson, and they communicated with each other by means of a long wooden bridge. He divided his force into two columns, and, while he advanced in person with one of them to storm Fort Clinton, he despatched Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell of the 52nd with the other column to storm Fort Montgomery. It was arranged that the attack should be made by the two parties at the same instant of time—and about sunset Clinton assailed the one fort and Campbell the other, precisely at the moment and in the manner agreed upon. The garrison of Fort Montgomery, who did not exceed 800 men, were so panic-stricken that they made but little use of their artillery, and fled from their works after a very short resistance, in which, however, Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell was killed. Fort Clinton was better defended, and by nature was much stronger: it was built upon a rocky ridge, the only approach to which was over a bare open space of about a hundred yards long, with a lake on one side, a precipice and the Hudson on the other. According to their usual plan, the Americans had thrown felled trees right across this space, so that the British soldiers could advance neither rapidly nor in order—and the advance was to be made in the mouth of ten pieces of heavy artillery, while they had not a single gun wherewith to respond or to cover their movement. Nay, those brave men were ordered, for the sake of expedition, not even to stay to fire a musket, but to rush on to the fortifications and enter them by the very embrasures through which the

American guns were pointed. And on they went, sometimes on their feet, sometimes crawling all-fours over the trunks of the trees, and all the way under a dreadful fire until they got to the foot of the works, and, there being no ladders, no implement, or help of any kind, they climbed on one another's shoulders up into the embrasures, pushed aside the warm cannon, and drove the American's across the rampart at the bayonet's point. The garrison, who were about 400 strong, made an attempt to rally at the head of the rampart, but they were soon dislodged. They then retired to the other side of the esplanade, discharged a last volley of musketry—murderous and useless, and contrary to military honour—and then threw down their arms and cried for quarter. This last provocation is such as troops rarely brook, and the British, and the Germans with them, had besides suffered considerably in storming the fort; yet it is said, on good authority, that there was not a single American put to death except such as fell in the hand-to-hand fight at the embrasures or upon the ramparts. The loss on the side of the assailants was less than might have been expected, as it amounted only to 140 killed and wounded. The Americans lost about 300 in killed, wounded, and prisoners.* The British had advanced to the charge in the dusk of the evening, and by the time they had completed their conquest it was night. But the darkness was soon partially dispersed by a most brilliant illumination which proceeded from two frigates, two galleys, and a sloop, which the Americans had drawn up in a little inlet under the guns of the forts, and to which the crews now set fire to prevent their falling into the hands of the conquerors. The flotilla made a brief but magnificent spectacle, and then blew up into the air between the lofty echoing banks of the Hudson. A few miles higher up the river there was another strong place, called Fort Constitution, built

* The American Governor Clinton, who was in the fort that bore his name, passed the river in a boat, and escaped, as did also General James Clinton, though wounded in the thigh by a bayonet. Lieutenant Colonels Livingstone and Bruyn, and Majors Hamilton and Logan were among the prisoners.

upon a rock; but the Americans there, without any orders from their governor, demolished part of the works, left their artillery behind them, and fled as soon as they learned the fall of Forts Montgomery and Clinton. A new settlement, called the Continental Village, with barracks for 1500 men, storehouses, &c., was destroyed by a detachment of American loyalists, under the command of Governor Tryon. A boom was removed, and Sir James Wallace, with a flying squadron of small frigates, ascended the Hudson still farther, destroying a number of American vessels on his way. On the 13th of October, the very day on which Burgoyne made his first overture for a capitulation, General Vaughan, under cover of Wallace's frigates, landed a detachment at Esopus Creek, which, going by land, was scarcely 30 miles from Saratoga, the scene of our humiliation. If, instead of this weak detachment, Clinton had come up with his whole force, it appears to us that Gates, even now, might have given Burgoyne a fair chance of retreat, by detaching troops to secure his own rear.* General Vaughan reduced two batteries and a row-galley stationed at the mouth of Esopus Creek, and he then ascended the creek about five miles to the town of Esopus, a young but flourishing place, which he reduced to ashes, together with a vast quantity of provisions and stores, collected for the use of General Gates's army. Putnam, whose army had been reinforced by militia till it was 6000 strong, now detached General Parsons with 2000 men to protect the banks of the Hudson; and on the morning of the 17th, when Burgoyne's army were all prisoners, Gates was enabled to detach more and more troops to the scene of Clinton's operations. The English general, therefore, recalled Vaughan and Wallace, destroyed all the places he had taken in order to have the river open to future operations, reimbarked his men, and returned to New York, having

* According to Marshall, intelligence of the success of Sir Henry Clinton was received by General Burgoyne on the night after the convention at Saratoga had been agreed upon; but before the articles had been signed and executed; and Burgoyne had serious thoughts of breaking off the treaty.—*Life of Washington.*

swept the Hudson, and proved how effective the campaign might have been if General Howe had gone up that river to Albany in the month of July or August.* The damage that Clinton's small force had inflicted was immense.

The British parliament assembled on the 18th of November. The king had neither lost any of his firmness nor abated any of his hope as to the final result of the expensive contest. In his speech from the throne he expressed his great satisfaction in being able to have recourse to the legislature at a conjuncture which demanded the most serious attention. He assured them that he had faithfully employed the means intrusted to him for the suppression of the revolt, and that he had just confidence in the conduct and courage of his officers commanding in America; but still, he intimated, it would be necessary to prepare for such further operations as the contingencies of war and the obstinacy of the rebels might render expedient. In the Lords, the Earl of Coventry, who had made a very remarkable speech during a preceding session, opposed the address, and recommended the immediate withdrawal of our fleets and armies, and our instant recognition of the independence of America. But even this, his lordship chose to say, would be only a temporary preservation; and he predicted, as a thing as certain as any law of nature, that the fall of Great Britain and the transfer of the seat of empire to the other side of the Atlantic must follow or accompany the independence of America. When Lord Coventry sat down, Chatham rose upon his crutch to move an amendment, which he had previously submitted to Rockingham and the other lords in opposition.† The arrival of his ci-devant friend Benjamin Franklin at Paris, and the great attention which had been paid to him, had wounded and irritated the great orator in an uncommon degree. "*But yesterday*," he exclaimed, "and England *might have stood against the world: now none so poor to do her reverence.*" The Hessians had been guilty of

* Gordon.—Stedman.—Burke.—Marshall.

† Letters in Chat. Corres.

some excesses in the country near the Delaware, but the orator represented them in a more horrible light than was justified by the facts. Continuing his vaticination that the struggle, however prolonged, must end in our defeat, he exclaimed—"You may swell every expense, and every effort, still more extravagantly; pile and accumulate every assistance you can buy or borrow; traffic and barter with every little pitiful German prince that sells and sends his subjects to the shambles of a foreign prince! Your efforts are for ever vain and impotent—doubly so from this mercenary aid on which you rely, for it irritates to an incurable resentment the minds of your enemies—to overrun them with the mercenary sons of rapine and plunder; devoting them and their possessions to the rapacity of hireling cruelty! If I were an American, as I am an Englishman, while a foreign troop was landed in my country, I never would lay down my arms—never, never, never." He affirmed that our own army was infected with the contagion of these illiberal allies, and that the spirit of plunder and of rapine was gone forth among them. But when he came to speak of the employment of the wild Indians with our army—though he himself, nineteen years before, had employed Indians in the same manner against the French and the Canadians—his tone was still more loud and indignant. "But, my lords, who is the man that, in addition to these disgraces and mischiefs of our army, has dared to authorise and associate to our arms the tomahawk and scalping-knife of the savage? To call into civilised alliance the wild and inhuman savage of the woods; to delegate to the merciless Indian the defence of disputed rights, and to wage the horrors of his barbarous war against our brethren? My lords, these enormities cry aloud for redress and punishment; unless thoroughly done away, it will be a stain on the national character; it is a violation of the constitution; I believe it is against the law." He proceeded to speak on the great question of disseverance and independence, and on this subject no new light had broken in upon him. He avowed now, as he had done all through the quarrel, that our supremacy must be maintained or our ruin inevitably sealed. As

his course had all along been to attribute every blame to the British government, and to applaud both the spirit and the intentions of the Americans, so he pretended to assert even now that the Americans, or a very considerable part of the colonists, were still full of affection for the mother-country, were only declaring independence in moments of anguish and despair, and were still in their hearts inclined to return to their old political condition. Nay, he would not even admit that our power of regulating their trade ought to be abolished or abridged. He dwelt upon the insincere nonsense in the royal speech about the friendly assurances of foreign courts; he spoke of the interests and of the passions of the French, and he showed that no foreign power was really friendly to Great Britain. He might have been told that the irritated pride, the jealousy and the eagerness of the French to brush from their laurels the tarnish of the last war, were, in no inconsiderable degree, attributable to his own councils, and to the military glory which he had acquired during that contest, and of which he was so proud. Without this incentive it is quite possible that the French would have been disposed to interfere, and to take advantage of the embarrassments of England: their old rivalry, their new political philosophy, their proneness to war, would have led them in this direction; but the sore recollection of their defeats and Chatham's trophies hurried them on at an accelerated pace. After dwelling again upon our weakness, and our calamities foreign and domestic, and declaring that ministers were making the constitution itself totter to its foundations, he said, "Since they have neither sagacity to foresee, nor justice and humanity to shun these calamities; since not even severe experience can make them feel, nor the imminent ruin of their country awaken them from their stupefaction, the guardian care of parliament must interpose. I shall therefore propose an amendment to the address, to recommend an immediate cessation of hostilities, and the commencement of a treaty to restore peace and liberty to America, strength and happiness to England, security and permanent prosperity

to both countries. This, my lords, is yet in our power." But few or none that heard him believed that anything of the sort was in our power, unless we recognised their independence; and some doubted whether an instant recognition would have the effect of procuring lasting peace and good-will between the two countries. In their most depressed state the Americans had displayed an eagerness for conquest, and it was the fundamental principle of Congress, and an article of almost religious belief with the patriots, that the whole of Canada and Nova Scotia should be incorporated in their republic. As, on every occasion when no force had been employed against them, they had attributed every concession to our weakness and fears, could they be expected to do less when considerable armies had been in the field for many months? Their triumph would have known no bounds; all Europe would have joined them in the confident belief that the lion of England had become a timid, helpless lamb; their foreign negotiations, their leagues with the French, would not have been broken off by any treaty with us; and, even if inclined for a time to moderation themselves, they would have been heated and impelled by their new alliances. There was a great diversity of opinion among these lords. They even differed as to the propriety of offering terms of concession at this moment, and they were not at all agreed as to what the terms, if offered, should be. The majority, however, were decidedly of opinion that we must retain our supremacy and our right of regulating the American trade. Chatham's amendment to the address was rejected by a majority of 84 to 28; and only two peers signed the protest. In the Lower House a similar amendment was moved by the Marquess of Granby and seconded by Lord John Cavendish. The opposition, though animated, were quite as much divided in opinion as to the course to be pursued as in the other House; and the amendment was negatived by 243 to 86.

On the next day, the 3rd of December, the mournful news arrived of Burgoyne's surrender at Saratoga, and was whispered about town, though without any par-

ticulars. This, it was concluded, must drive ministers from their posts, and make room for those who had been so long and so loudly struggling for them. On the next day, the 4th of December, the Marquess of Rockingham, the Dukes of Richmond and Manchester, and Lord Shelburne met and agreed that a motion should be made in the Upper House for the production of Burgoyne's instructions; and they hoped that Chatham's health would enable him to come to London on the morrow to make it. The Duke of Grafton and several other opposition lords were out of town before the sad news arrived. On the 5th, Chatham was in his place to make the motion. He began a long and powerful harangue by criticising the king's speech at the opening of the session, which, he said, contained an unfaithful, delusive picture of the state of public affairs. The oration was rather rambling. Returning to Burgoyne, he paid that general some very high compliments—saying his abilities were confessed, his personal bravery not surpassed, his zeal in the service unquestionable. He had experienced no pestilence, he had suffered none of the accidents which sometimes supersede the most wise and spirited exertions. What, then, was the great cause of his misfortune? And, forgetting his preceding declaration, that he would not condemn ministers without evidence, he answered his own question by affirming that the great cause of the calamities was want of wisdom in our councils, want of ability in our ministers! He laid the whole blame upon ministers, and told them that they ought to submit to all the obloquy till the general had an opportunity to justify himself in person. Notwithstanding a correction he had so recently received as to his own employment of the Indians, he again dwelt upon the horror of the scalping-knife and tomahawk, saying that, if he had been serving in the army, he believed he would rather have mutinied than consent to act with such barbarians—that such a mode of warfare was a pollution of our national character which all the waters of the rivers Delaware and Hudson would never wash away!

He was almost as severe upon German bayonets as upon Indian scalping-knives. The only thing to be done to preserve America in our dependence was to disband the Indians (they were disbanded long before this), recall the Germans, and withdraw our own troops entirely. He again declared himself an avowed enemy to American independence, saying that he was a Whig, and that, while he abhorred the system of government attempted to be established in America, he as earnestly and zealously contended for a Whig government and a Whig connexion between the two countries, founded on a constitutional dependence and subordination of America upon England. These colonies, he said, had made our riches, had raised the value of estates, given employment to our manufacturers and wealth to our merchants. With the independence of America all these advantages must vanish and pass to our enemies. In concluding, he moved for the production of copies of all orders and instructions sent to Lieutenant-General Burgoyne. The motion was negatived by a majority of 40 to 19. It had been previously agreed to make demand after demand, motion after motion; and Chatham himself next moved for copies of all instructions relative to the employment of Indians in conjunction with the British troops. In opposing the motion Lord Gower asserted that the noble lord himself employed savages in the operations of the last war. Chatham accused Lord Gower of quibbling; and told him that, at the time he alluded to, he was too inexperienced, thoughtless, and dissipated to know anything of public affairs—was immersed in pleasures and indulgences to which young noblemen were too much inclined! Gower, after replying to these personalities with equal heat and bitterness, produced from the journals of the House the recognition of a treaty with the Indians, who were engaged to make war upon and destroy the French in Canada. Chatham poured out a fresh volume of words. Ministers then offered to produce, from the depositôry of papers in the secretary's office, documents written by himself to prove the charge. The

dispute grew still hotter; and at length Lord Amherst, Chatham's general, who had commanded our troops in that Canadian war, was so loudly appealed to on all sides, that he found himself compelled to acknowledge that he had followed the example of the French in employing savages, which he would not have done *without express orders from government at home*. He even offered to produce the orders, if his majesty would permit him. Lord Shelburne argued that the orders to employ the savages might have proceeded from the Board of Trade; but Lord Denbigh, who, rather happily, called Chatham "the great oracle with the short memory," said that this was impossible; that Chatham, when in office under George II., had guided and directed everything relating to the war, had monopolised functions which did not belong to him, and had been excessively jealous of any interference by others, whether boards or ministers. The Lords in opposition now seemed inclined to lay the question by, as far as it concerned Chatham's veracity or correctness of memory, and only insisted upon the difference between the two wars—the one having been against our old enemies the French, the other being against our fellow-subjects. They also contended that, since the French had certainly begun the practice so justly abhorred, we were, in Chatham's time, in a manner under the necessity of retaliating, and employing the red men in the same way. But ministers might have urged—and they probably did urge—that, in the present instance, the Americans had set the deplorable example. Arnold took with him into Canada the very savages whose services we had refused. One of the first cares of Congress was to secure the alliance of the Six Nations; and it was understood by all that the treaty was not to stop at neutrality, but to engage those Indians as auxiliaries in the war. When Lord Bute, in his close retirement, heard what passed in the House of Lords, and how Chatham had denied his having employed the red men, he exclaimed with astonishment, "Did Pitt really deny it? Why, I have letters of his still by me, singing *Io Pæans* over the

advantages we gained through our Indian allies!"* Chatham's present motion was negatived by a majority of 40 to 18. His party still continued to think, or to affect to think, that there was a vast difference between American Christians and French Christians, and that this difference justified whatever he had done in the former war.

The number of seamen for the ensuing year was fixed at 60,000, and that of the troops to be employed in America alone at 55,000.

A.D. 1778.—During the recess extreme efforts were made both by the government party and by the opposition. The notion of ending a ruinous and vilely mismanaged war by recognising the independence of the United States was certainly now entertained or debated by a few practised politicians; but Chatham shrunk from it as from a monster too hideous to contemplate. Lord Shelburne expressed himself as being entirely of Chatham's opinion, and the mass of the opposition continued to talk and to act as if we should neither make war upon the Americans nor submit to their high pretensions of separate sovereignty. The vast majority of the nation, hurt in their pride, and eager to blot out the recollection of Bourgoyne's disgrace, were warm for the war; and some of our great cities, which suffered and lost most by the stop put to their trade with the colonies, were the most warlike of all. Liverpool raised a regiment at her own expense; Manchester raised another; as did also Glasgow and Edinburgh. Several independent companies were raised without cost or charge to government in the principality of Wales. The corporations of London and Bristol, being more under Whig influence, rejected proposals to co-operate; but private subscriptions were opened, large sums were given, and 15,000 soldiers were

* Lord Brougham, Statesmen of the Times of George III. His lordship says that he was indebted to the kindness of "a most accomplished and venerable person, the ornament of a former age, and fortunately still preserved to enlighten the present," for this interesting anecdote.

raised by these various means.* Many of the maritime towns armed ships to cruize in the Channel, where American privateers and Frenchmen with American colours were now rather numerous. On the other side, the Opposition set on foot subscriptions for the American prisoners of war, who received no succour from their own country, government, or families, and who were represented as suffering great hardship and cruelty from their English gaolers. The Opposition generally chose to consider that the conduct of Liverpool, Manchester, and of the other towns and individuals who had raised regiments at their own expense for the service of government, was highly reprehensible; and the conduct of ministers in accepting their aid most unconstitutional and dangerous. This was one of the first subjects discussed on the re-assembling of parliament. Putting aside the emergency of the case, the practice may be regarded as not free from objection; but Lord North could justify himself by precedents. Regiments and independent companies had been raised precisely in the same manner in the troublous year 1745, and again in the year 1759, when Chatham was minister. So far from considering the practice dangerous and unlawful, Chatham had then publicly and solemnly thanked those who raised the troops for the honour and glory of their country. Yet now "the great oracle with the short memory" joined in the out-cry.

At this time a very considerable party in the country entertained the idea that Chatham, who had been so successful a war-minister, ought to be recalled to the helm; and there were some few who seem to have fancied that his return to office was not an improbability. There were many flying reports that the king himself had become convinced that the country could be saved only by means of Chatham. We doubt the correctness of these surmises, *because* we know that the harangues and taunts of Chatham, and his strange neglect of all business when holding the privy seal, had sunk deep into the soul of

* History of Lord North's Administration.

George III.; because we know that the king had learned to consider Chatham rather as an orator than a man of business, and was led by his plain common sense to see that any such attempt at conciliation as he recommended must end in failure and ridicule. And it would have been a task, compared to which the making ropes of sand were a hopeful and profitable employment!

On the 2nd of February, on the order of the day being read for the House resolving itself into a committee to take into consideration the state of the nation, Fox, in the Commons, had moved that no more troops should be sent out of the kingdom, and the Duke of Richmond had made a similar motion in the Lords. In both Houses the Opposition represented immediate war with France to be followed in a brief space by a war with Spain and the whole House of Bourbon, as inevitable; questioning at the same time the efficacy of our fleets to defend our coasts from invasion, and speaking contemptuously of our militia, and of all our internal means of defence. The motions were rejected, in the Commons by a majority of 259 against 165; in the Lords by 91 against 34. On the 6th of February Burke introduced a motion for papers relating to the military employment of the Indians by a magnificent speech, which seems to have kept attention alive, though it lasted *three hours and a half*, a length of time which no orator in the House except Burke had ever yet ventured to occupy. Quite as much from his rich and teeming fancy as from facts, he drew a most striking and ghastly picture of Indian warfare, and of the horrors committed by our savage auxiliaries—horrors which had certainly been prevented to the very utmost of his power by Burgoyne, who, in the moment of his greatest difficulty, had lost the services of the red men by restraining their ferocity. Strangers were shut out from this debate; and the speech, apparently, was never fully reported. It seems to have abounded with touching stories and very pathetic episodes, and to have greatly excited those whose minds were otherwise prepared for excitement. Colonel Barré offered, if it were published, to nail the speech on every church door by

the side of the king's proclamation for a general fast. Governor Johnstone thought it very fortunate for the two noble lords (North and Germaine) that the galleries had been cleared, as the indignation and enthusiasm of strangers might have excited the people to tear them to pieces on their way home from the House. The motion, nevertheless, was negatived by a majority of 223 against 137. In both Houses fresh and numerous calls were made for paper, but in every case the ministerial majorities, on a division, prevailed over the opposition in the proportion of two to one. We may add that in nearly every case the production of the papers called for would have let the enemy into dangerous secrets, and would have been extremely injudicious when we were actively engaged in hostilities with one power or people, and certainly threatened with war by France.

On the 17th of February Lord North produced a conciliatory plan, which, he said, he hoped would yet prove effectual; and moved for leave to bring in two bills—one for declaring the intentions of the parliament of Great Britain concerning the exercise of the right of imposing taxes within his majesty's colonies in North America—the other to enable his majesty to appoint commissioners, with sufficient powers to treat, consult, and agree upon the means of quieting the disorders now subsisting in certain of the colonies, plantations, and provinces of North America. His lordship said that he had been uniformly disposed to pacific arrangements, and that he was by nature a friend to peace; that he had tried conciliatory means before the sword was unsheathed, and would gladly try them again. He had thought the former propositions to the Americans equitable, and capable of forming a happy and lasting union between the mother-country and the colonies—and he thought so still; but unfortunately, through a variety of discussions, a plan originally clear and simple was made to appear so obscure as to go damned to America.

He again reminded the House that *he* had originated no taxes—that he found America already taxed, when, unfortunately for his own peace of mind, he came into ad-

ministration. As for the act which had led to the Boston riots, the act enabling the East India Company to send out teas with the drawback of the entire duty, it was a relief rather than an oppression—it was actually giving the colonists their teas at a cheaper rate than before;—but the disaffected and all those who had been previously engaged in the contraband trade, had too successfully endeavoured to give it another colour. The first of the bills he now proposed was designed to quiet the minds of the Americans on the subject of taxation; to dispel all fears, real or pretended, that parliament might attempt to tax them again; and even to renounce the right itself. This, he said would be far better than repealing, as the Americans had once seemed to desire, all acts passed since the year 1763, as among those statutes were several granting bounties and premiums, or relaxing former regulations and statutes expressly intended for the benefit of the colonists and the promotion of their trade. By his second bill he intended to grant the royal commissioners powers far more ample than those formerly intrusted to Lord Howe and his brother; to authorise them to treat with the congress as if it were *a legal body*, and competent by its acts and negotiations to bind all the colonies. Further, he intended that they should be empowered to treat with the conventions or provincial assemblies, or colonial congresses—with individuals in their actual civil capacities or military commands, without any cavil as to allowing them, and addressing them by, the rank they held under congress—to treat with General Washington or any other officer—to suspend hostilities; intermit the operation of laws; grant pardons, immunities, and rewards; restore charters and constitutions; and nominate governors, judges, magistrates, &c., till the king's pleasure should be known. The bar or stumbling-block of independence was to be thus got over. Instead of admitting the claim in the first instance, to combat it and refuse it afterwards, he proposed that a renunciation of independence by the Americans should not be insisted on *in limine*, nor debated till the treaty had received final ratification by the king and parlia-

ment. The commissioners were to be instructed to negotiate for a reasonable and moderate contribution towards the common defence of the empire, when united; but they were by no means to insist on this slight contribution as a *sine quâ non*. He contended that these concessions ought not to be considered as the tardy result of defeat or of weakness; as they were substantially the same as he should offer in the height of victory. He allowed that the events of the war had not corresponded to his expectation; but he denied that there was any truth in the jeremiads of the Opposition. England, if not split by faction, was as vigorous as ever, and as fertile in resources; she was in circumstances to prosecute the war, to raise new armies, and to increase her navy, which was never in a better condition. Burke and Fox harangued against the scheme, the latter stating that the French had actually signed a treaty of alliance with the Americans—a fact which Lord North did not deny. The Opposition proclaimed generally that North's plan was intended not to pacify America, but to amuse and delude the people of England, and suspend for a time the popular vengeance which was hanging over the heads of ministers. They again furnished the Americans with specious arguments to justify their contempt and hatred of Great Britain. They affirmed that weakness and fear were now the active feelings in the breast of Lord North, and they asked whether the Americans, after resisting and baffling our utmost efforts, could be expected to part with their victorious swords, to negotiate with men who had laid the foundations of war in perfidy, and built upon that with cruelty. About the usual majority agreed, however, to the motion; and the two bills were brought in and carried through the House. When the bills were brought up to the Lords, the opposition was renewed. The Duke of Richmond read the Declaration of Independence, and asked ministers whether they meant to subscribe to the assertions contained in it, such as, that the king was a tyrant, the admiralty courts a grievance, that the king's tyranny justified their withdrawing from his allegiance, &c. His grace maintained that

these bills, instead of recovering the affections of the Americans, would sound the trumpet of war to all neighbouring nations—*that the Americans, as a wise and sagacious people, would discover that the bills were merely intended to delude them*—and that it was only the knowledge of the French alliance that had induced ministers to moderate their tone. He stated as a positive and notorious fact, that they had sent over persons to Paris to tamper with Dr. Franklin and Silas Deane; and that those envoys of the new republic had rejected their offers, including the two new bills, with scorn. He further stated, as a report or conjecture, that Franklin, whose opinion was absolute with the majority of congress, had forewarned that political body of the insincere and contemptible plan of reconciliation which the British cabinet was now going to offer, and had told them that, since the conclusion of the treaty with the French, it was impossible even to listen to them, or to enter upon any treaty whatsoever with Great Britain. Earl Temple condemned the bills, but upon very different grounds. He execrated them as mean and truckling, and as tending to prostrate the king, the parliament, and people of Great Britain at the feet of Benjamin Franklin and Silas Deane, to whom, he said, ministers had paid homage in sackcloth and ashes! The people had recovered from the shock occasioned by Burgoyne's reverses; their spirits had been raised by the voluntary offers of regiments, by the new levies, by the assurances that the navy was in a state to maintain its ancient reputation: and now the Opposition were going to depress this spirit by succombing to an arrogant enemy. His lordship now said that America had been aiming at independence from the very beginning; but that a recognition of their claim, though even temporary, would for ever end the glory of England. Lord Shelburne, who obeyed more immediately the dictates of Chatham, opposed the two bills, because their tendency was to separate the two countries. He said that he would never consent that America should be independent of Great Britain! He endeavoured to explain the grand theory

of sovereignty without taxation, coercion, or intermeddling; yet in his vague explanation he could not leave *money* out of the account. If the ministry was wrong so was the Opposition. In neither House of Parliament did ever any one member propose a feasible scheme of reconciliation. All insisted—and the whole nation insisted—on the dependence of America, and the Americans were determined to fight for independence. There was, therefore, nothing left to do, but to fight them; and that we fought them so unsuccessfully was owing not more to the blunders of ministers and generals than to the harangues of opposition and the fury of faction. Both bills were passed without a division, and the protest entered against them was signed by only one peer—Lord Abingdon, who evidently thought he had a genius for protesting.

By this time Lord North had received official information of Franklin's success at Paris. On the 17th of March he delivered in the House a message from the throne, stating the receipt of information from the French king, that he had concluded a treaty of amity and commerce with his majesty's revolted subjects in North America; in consequence of which offensive communication the British ambassador at Paris had been ordered home; and that his majesty now fully relied on the zeal and affection of his people to repel the insult and maintain the reputation of the country. The note of the French ambassador—the uncle of La Fayette's wife—was laid before parliament. A more curious or more quibbling document has not often been presented, even in diplomacy. It required some periphrasis to express with a semblance of decency so irregular a proceeding as recognising the revolt of the provinces of a friendly power, and concluding a treaty with states which were not *de facto* independent, but which were only struggling for independence—a condition they did not arrive at until four years later, and at which they might not have arrived for a quarter of a century if it had not been for this French treaty, and the assistance and co-operation which followed it. Franklin rejoiced at the indirect

wording of the ambassador's notification; and Washington said, that though it was not an actual declaration of war, it must certainly lead to one.* After delivering it, the French ambassador went off for Paris—"not," says Gibbon, "without some slight expressions of ill-humour from John Bull." In fact, the people were greatly enraged, and, if the war with America was popular before, it became doubly so after the French had joined the quarrel; and the animosities and antipathies which had gradually been growing stronger and stronger against America now obtained their full height. Nothing more idle or more false than the assertion, which is still maintained in certain quarters, that this was the king's and not the people's war. When the French notification was read in the House, Lord North moved an appropriate address to the king. The Opposition moved an amendment requesting his majesty to dismiss the ministry! But the original address was carried by a majority of 263 against 113. In the course of the debate Governor Pownall pretended to give the history of the origin and progress of the American negotiations with France; but we now know from American documents that the account he gave was widely incorrect. He said, for example, that the idea of the treaty had not existed six months in the minds of the Americans, and that the negotiations had not begun more than three months ago. Now, the idea had been uppermost in the minds of Jefferson, Jay, Morris, Franklin, and the other leaders, for at least two years; it had been proclaimed in congress two years ago; Silas Deane had been at Paris, attempting to negotiate, nearly two years; and Franklin had been there with the same object nearly twelve months. It was not owing to the Americans and their agents, but to the scruples and misgivings of the unhappy Louis XVI., who, in signing it, built up part of the guillotine scaffold on which he was to perish, that the treaty had not been concluded *twenty* months earlier. Governor Pownall was, however, perfectly right in stating that the French at the first had tried to drive a very hard bar-

* Washington's Letters.

gain, in the persuasion that the Americans were deplorably weak; and in saying that it was the news of the surrender of Burgoyne's army that made them lower their demands and hurry on such a treaty as congress desired. Sandwich, who was sorely assailed during the whole of the session, made an able defence, dwelling in generals, and not descending to inconvenient particulars about money. He said that the British naval force consisted at this moment of 373 ships of all rates, which was a force double what we had half a century before. Some noble lords threatened him with the vengeance of the people, who would rise and tear him to pieces, as the Dutch had treated De Witt.

During this session some laudable measures were adopted for the relief of Ireland, and a committee was appointed to revise the trade-laws which affected the sister kingdom. Ireland was much indebted at this moment to the genius and abilities of her eloquent son, Edmund Burke, who, on the 6th of May, laid before the House the great capabilities of his native country, and the injury and injustice she had been made to suffer by English jealousy and anti-commercial regulations. He and his friend Lord Nugent proposed that the people of Ireland should be permitted to export all articles of Irish manufacture, woollen cloths and wool excepted, in British bottoms, to the coast of Africa and other foreign settlements, and to import from the same all goods except indigo and tobacco; and that they should be further allowed to export to England, duty free, cotton yarn, Irish sail-cloth, and cordage. Resolutions to this effect having been passed, two bills founded upon them were introduced. Partly through the injurious effects which our commercial restrictions had produced in America, and partly, perhaps, through some trifling progress made in the science of political economy, both sides of the House seemed to agree in the propriety of adopting these measures; but the commercial body took the alarm, and, during the Easter recess, a number of counter-addresses and petitions were prepared in various parts of England. The great trading city of Bristol was furious

against Burke, and called upon him, as her representative in parliament, to correct his commercial heresy, and support her views and interests. Burke manfully refused, and continued to co-operate with Lord Nugent in his praiseworthy task. "If," said he, from this conduct I shall forfeit their suffrages at an ensuing election, it will stand on record, an example to future representatives of the Commons of England, that one man at least has dared to resist the desires of his constituents when his judgment assured him that they were wrong."* His conduct lost him the next election, the "gentlemen traders of Bristol" not being as yet very liberal and enlightened, or capable of comprehending the axioms which he endeavoured to explain to them — that restriction and monopoly were not so advantageous as free trade, and that the gain of others is not necessarily our loss.†

Other members, who would not so readily forfeit their boroughs and places, took up the jealous cry of the English traders and manufacturers, and swamped the House with their lachrymose petitions. Sir Cecil Wray declared it to be the duty of every independent man to resist the bills, because they were sanctioned by the minister; other members thought it monstrous to give to Irish Papists what was in the hands of good English Protestants; and a strong inclination was shown to reduce the relief to a very minimum. The second reading of the two bills, however, was carried by a considerable majority. The petitioners then claimed to be heard by counsel. This was granted; and such was the weight of the pleadings of the close-trade interest that the supporters of the bills found themselves obliged to enter into a sort of compromise, which considerably diminished the amount of the benefit conferred on Ireland. While these bills were under discussion, another measure was proposed, in which the majority of the Irish people were deeply interested. A very loyal and flattering address had been presented to the king by the

* Speech in the House.

† Burke's Works, Letters to Gentlemen in the City of Bristol.

Roman Catholics;* and the occurrences in America, and the attempts made by Americans to excite insurrection, forced on men's minds the urgent necessity of tranquillizing and attaching the Irish people. Accordingly, when Sir George Saville brought in a bill for the relief of the Roman Catholics, by repealing certain penalties and disabilities created by the 10th and 11th of William III., entitled an Act for preventing the further growth of Popery, ministers gave it their countenance, Thurlow spoke eloquently in its support, and it was carried through the House rapidly and unanimously. In the House of Lords the Bishop of Peterborough spoke of the great danger to the Anglican church of removing the law which took away the estate from the elder brother and gave it to the younger, if the younger brother only professed himself a Protestant; but the opposition was slight, and the bill was passed there also.

On the 19th of March, in the committee of the whole House on the state of the nation, Charles Fox moved a resolution of censure on Lord George Germaine, as the chief author of Burgoyne's calamity. This proposition was rejected by 164 againt 44; whereupon Fox indignantly tore to pieces a paper containing another proposition, and declared he would make no more motions. The solicitor-general then proposed that the House should specifically exonerate the noble secretary: a vote was carried that the failure of the expedition from Canada was not caused by any *neglect* in the secretary of state; but the resolution was not reported. By this time Burgoyne himself, who had gone through several campaigns in the House of Commons, and who was no mean debater, was in his place to speak for himself. The Americans had given him leave to return home upon parole; but in bold defiance of the convention Gates had signed, they still kept Burgoyne's troops as prisoners of war!

In the meantime the great leaders of opposition had

* It was signed by nine Roman Catholic peers, by Lord Surrey, heir to the ducal house of Norfolk, and by one hundred and sixty-three commoners of wealth and consideration.

rather openly and angrily disagreed as to the course to be pursued in debate with respect to America. Nothing is more clear than that the whole thing was, as it had been all along, a fight in the dark. The Duke of Richmond and the Marquis of Rockingham at length took a more decided part, and became convinced that the only possibility of detaching America from France and avoiding both wars was by acknowledging the independence of the colonies. In arriving at this conclusion they did not, however, pretend that the independence of America would be anything else than a curse to the mother-country. Chatham thought that this curse was to be avoided at all hazards: he remained firm in his old high doctrine; and, to avoid unpleasant collision with his own party, he stayed away from parliament. Lord Shelburne sided with Chatham, as did also Lord Camden, who was of opinion that the granting independence to the Americans, however wise before, would be useless and disgraceful now that the French had joined them. But Camden was not very decided in his opinion, and was much discouraged by seeing how little hope there was of a new Chatham administration. The Duke of Richmond strongly expressed his regret at Chatham's not attending business in the House, and at the appearance of a want of union and confidence between them. His grace endeavoured, by letter, to explain his notion, and to convert the orator. He hoped that the differences of opinion were rather apparent than real, and arose only from want of opportunities to communicate and to explain.

This letter was written on the 5th of April. On the 6th Chatham, using the hand of his eldest son, Lord Pitt, returned thanks to the Duke of Richmond for the great honour of the communication of the motion intended to be made by his grace. The rest of the short note ran thus:—"It is an unspeakable concern to him to find himself under so very wide a difference with the Duke of Richmond, as between the *sovereignty* and *allegiance* of America, that he despairs of bringing about successfully any honourable issue. He is inclined to try it before *this bad* grows worse. Some weakness still con-

tinues in his hands; but he hopes to be in town to-morrow." On that morrow—the 7th of April, 1778—Chatham appeared in the House of Lords for *the last time*. Sickness and age had done their work: he came into the House leaning upon two friends, wrapped up in flannel, pale and emaciated. Within his large wig little more was to be seen than his aquiline nose, and his penetrating eye. He looked like a dying man; yet never was seen a figure of more dignity.* The Duke of Richmond made his motion, which was for an address to the king, recapitulating the expense, loss, and misconduct of the war, and entreating his majesty to dismiss his ministers and withdraw his forces by sea and land from America. Lord Weymouth, one of the secretaries of state, opposed the motion; and then Chatham replied to the opposition—his own party—with far more effect. He rose from his seat with slowness and difficulty, leaning on his crutches, and supported under each arm by his two friends. He took one hand from his crutch and raised it, casting his eyes towards heaven, and said, "I thank God that I have been enabled to come here this day—to perform my duty, and to speak on a subject which has so deeply impressed my mind. I am old and infirm; I have one foot, more than one foot, in the grave; I am risen from my bed, to stand up in the cause of my country—perhaps never again to speak in this House." The reverence, the attention, the stillness of the House was most affecting: if any one had dropped a handkerchief the noise would have been heard. At first he spoke in a very low and feeble tone; but as he grew warm, his voice rose, and was as harmonious as ever: oratorical and affecting, perhaps more than at any former period.† "My lords," said he, "I rejoice that the grave has not closed upon me; that I am still alive to lift up my voice against the dismemberment of this ancient and most

* Seward's Anecdotes of Distinguished Persons.

† Ibid.—These particulars were furnished to Mr. Seward by a friend who was in the House of Lords at the time.

noble monarchy! Pressed down as I am by the hand of infirmity, I am little able to assist my country in this most perilous conjuncture; but, my lords, while I have sense and memory, I will never consent to deprive the royal offspring of the House of Brunswick, the heirs of the Princess Sophia, of their fairest inheritance. Where is the man that will dare to advise such a measure? My lords, his majesty succeeded to an empire as great in extent as its reputation was unsullied. Shall we tarnish the lustre of this nation by an ignominious surrender of its rights and fairest possessions? Shall this great kingdom fall prostrate before the House of Bourbon? Shall a people, that fifteen years ago were the terror of the world, now stoop so low as to tell their ancient, inveterate enemy—'Take all we have, only give us peace?' It is impossible! I wage war with no man, or set of men. I wish for none of their employments; nor would I cooperate with men who still persist in unretracted error;—who, instead of acting in a firm, decisive line of conduct, halt between two opinions, where there is no middle path. In God's name, if it is absolutely necessary to declare either for peace or war, and the former cannot be preserved with honour, why is not the latter commenced without hesitation? I am not, I confess, well informed of the resources of this kingdom; but I trust it has still sufficient to maintain its just rights, though I know them not. But, my Lords, any state is better than despair. Let us at least make one effort; and if we must fall, let us fall like men!" As Chatham was sitting down, his brother-in-law, Lord Temple, who was equally averse to the recognition of American independence, said to him, "You forgot to mention what we talked of; shall I get up?" Chatham replied, "No, no; I will do it by-and-by." The Duke of Richmond rose again, and, after replying to some of the arguments used by Lord Weymouth, he attempted to answer Lord Chatham. He professed the greatest veneration for the orator, yet was evidently disconcerted and irritated by the line he had taken. Wonders, he said, had been done, when that great man directed the war; but the name of Chatham

could not perform impossibilities or restore the country to the state it was in when *he*, in the vigour of his life, was called into office. No person, his grace continued, wished more earnestly than himself for the perpetuation of American dependence; but being convinced of the impracticability, he wanted to retain the colonies as allies, because if they were not gratified and secured in friendship with us, they must throw themselves into the arms of France. When the Duke of Richmond sat down Chatham again attempted to rise, but the violence of his indignation overcame him; his strength failed him, and he fell backwards in a kind of fit or swoon, and he would have fallen to the floor but for the prompt support of some friendly arms. The whole House was agitated—every one pressed round him with anxious solicitude—and the debate was closed without another word. His youngest son, John Charles Pitt, a youth of seventeen, was very active in the assistance he rendered. His lordship was carried to Mr. Sargent's house, in Downing-street, and from thence, on the following day, he was carried home to Hayes, and put to his bed, from which he never again rose. He lingered, however, rather more than a month, expiring on Monday the 11th of May, in his seventieth year. On the evening of that day, his friend and disciple Colonel Barré announced the sad event in the House of Commons, and moved for an address to the king, to give direction that the remains of the illustrious statesman should be interred at the public expense in Westminster Abbey. Mr. Rigby, who continued to do the small work of the court in the House, and who probably fancied that a public funeral would not be agreeable to the king, suggested that a monument to his memory would be a better testimony of the public gratitude or admiration. Dunning caught at the words, and said that what would be best of all would be to have both the monument and the public funeral; and he proposed tacking to the original motion—"and that a monument be erected in the Collegiate Church of St. Peter's, Westminster, to the memory of that excellent statesman, with an inscription expressive of the public sense of so great and irre-

parable a loss; and to assure his majesty that this House will make good the expenses attending the same." At this moment Lord North entered the House in great haste, and declared his happiness in arriving soon enough to give his vote for the motion, which he hoped would be passed unanimously. The amended motion was carried without one dissenting voice. A funeral and a monument were thus secured to the great orator; but Chatham had been expensive in some of his habits and negligent in money matters, and notwithstanding places and pensions, and the 10,000*l.* left him by the Duchess of Marlborough, and the large fortune bequeathed him by Sir William Pynsent, he had died in debt. On the 13th Lord John Cavendish made an appeal to the gratitude of parliament and the nation, which he hoped would not stop short at what had been done. The high-sounding and noble-toned trumpet (which had long been considered by his majesty and by many of the nation as a trumpet of sedition) was now silenced for ever; and, besides, the last réveillé it had played was grateful to the royal ear; the king raised no obstacle, and the annuity bill, settling 4000*l.* a-year upon the heirs of Lord Chatham, to whom the title should descend, was carried through the House of Commons without the least opposition, as was also the grant of 20,000*l.* to pay off his lordship's debts. The lords, however, were not so unanimously generous, and the annuity bill was rather violently opposed in the Upper House. The Duke of Chandos called it an unwarrantable lavishing of the public money, in times of great distress; and condemned it as a dangerous precedent. Grants in perpetuity, or to descend from generation to generation, were taxes in perpetuity, and as such ought to be cautiously ratified by parliament. The body lay in state two days in the painted chamber, and after that scarcely commendable exhibition it was interred in the Abbey, apparently with less pomp than had been expected. Gibbon, the historian, says — "Lord Chatham's funeral was meanly attended, and government ingeniously contrived to secure the double odium of suffering the thing to be done, and

of doing it, with an ill grace." The death of the great orator seemed to leave a void in the political world, and there were some so enthusiastic in their admiration as to conceive that we had lost, not merely the greatest of our speakers, but the greatest of our statesmen—that in Chatham had perished the last of Englishmen!

The season was now far advanced, yet in both Houses motions were made to put off the prorogation. But these motions were lost, and on the 7th of July his majesty terminated the session. In so doing, he declared that his desire to preserve the tranquillity of Europe had been uniform and sincere; that the faith of treaties and the law of nations had been his rule of conduct; and that it had been his constant care to give no just cause of offence to any foreign power. "Let that power," said he, "by whom this tranquillity shall be broken answer to their subjects and to the world for all the fatal consequences of war!"

The Americans, and the war party in France, which was highly popular in spite of the miserably impoverished state of that country, exerted themselves to the very utmost to induce, not only Spain, but also Austria, Prussia, Russia, and the other despotisms, to become the allies and protectors of the young and democratic republic.

After all, the American negotiators of Paris had made little way until the arrival of Franklin. But the avator of the republican philosopher blew up the French enthusiasm and sympathy into a blaze; and nothing was heard in the French capital but the name of Franklin, and hyperbolical encomiums of his genius, his republican simplicity, and more than patriarchal integrity and single-mindedness. It was what the French call an *engouëment—une rage!* Everything about him, from the old-fashioned cut of his wig and coat down to the homely buckles of his shoes, became matter of admiration to the Parisians. All classes ran after him and paid him homage. He was as much courted in saloons and gay assemblies, and by beauty and fashion, as in scientific academies, where there were men who could properly

appreciate his philosophical discoveries, or in political concilabules, where there were other men who already aimed at trying the great American experiment in government in old France.* If these hot Philo-Americans—this mélange of petits-maîtres, fashionable ladies, philosophers, and sucking republicans — had been ministers of state, and had only been able to overcome the scruples and cooler judgment of Louis XVI., there would have been a declaration of war at once, without any diplomatic message or prelude whatsoever, and without any attention to the means of carrying it on. But the French ministers, rash as some of them were, were not quite ready for this madness. It was not without long hesitation and evident reluctance that the young king Louis put his hand to the American treaty. This treaty of union, friendship, and commerce was concluded at Paris on the 6th of February, the French having made it a part of their agreement that the Americans should never, upon any conditions, return to their allegiance to the British crown. By grinding the faces of the French people, who were already bent to the earth with imposts, duties, and corvées, by taking the bread from half-famished mouths, means were found to raise armies and equip fleets. Fifty thousand men were collected on the coasts of Normandy and Brittany to threaten England with invasion; arms, money, and men were sent over to America; and the navy of France set out once more to contend with the navy of Great Britain for the mastery of the narrow seas.

On the 17th of June, twenty-two days before the prorogation of parliament, Admiral Keppel, who had been appointed to the command on the first news of the treaty concluded by France with the Americans, and who had put to sea with twenty sail of the line, discovered in the channel two French frigates, 'La Licorne,' and 'La Belle Poule,' reconnoitring his fleet. There had been no declaration of war, but the conduct of France seemed to call for and to justify extreme measures, and

* French Mémoires of the Revolution.

Keppel's instructions were ample. He made the signal for chase, and in the evening the 'Milford' came up with the 'Licorne' frigate, and brought her into the fleet. Keppel directed Lord Longford, in the 'America,' to stay by her all night. The next morning he observed preparations making on board the frigate to get off, and, after some remonstrances with the French captain, he ordered a gun to be fired over her. The Frenchman replied by pouring a whole broadside into the 'America,' and he then struck his colours. Fortunately, by this useless discharge for the honour of arms, only four of our men were wounded. In the course of the night the 'Arethusa,' after a hard chase, in which she lost sight of the rest of the fleet, came up with the 'Belle Poule,' and summoned her to come under the stern of the British admiral. The 'Belle Poule' answered the summons by a broadside, and a desperate engagement ensued: it lasted for two hours; but all the time the French kept edging in for their own coast, and they finally made a small bay, out of which issued a swarm of row-boats that towed them into a place of safety. They left the 'Arethusa' with her mainmast over her side, and otherwise so disabled by their shots that she could scarcely clear the land. The next morning the 'Valiant' and 'Monarch' joined the 'Arethusa,' and towed her back to the fleet. The 'Alert' cutter engaged and took a French schooner; and in the course of the 18th a French frigate of 32 guns was captured. From papers found on board the French ships Keppel perceived that the Brest fleet, consisting of thirty-two sail of the line and ten or twelve frigates, was ready for sea; and this determined him to return to Portsmouth for reinforcements. On the 27th of June he anchored at Spithead. The reinforcements he wanted were not ready, or were not there. On the 9th of July the Brest fleet, under the Count d'Orvilliers, put to sea. The 'Lively' a 20-gun frigate, that had been left by Keppel to watch their movements, found herself, upon the clearing up of a fog, in the midst of the French fleet: she was taken. On the very same day Admiral Keppel, whose fleet had been augmented to thirty sail of the line, departed once more from Spithead and went in quest of

d'Orvilliers. By the 23rd the hostile fleets were in sight of each other. The French, who had the advantage of the wind, showed no inclination for battle. The English continued chasing and manœuvering to windward for four days, but on the 27th a dark squall brought the two fleets close together off Ushant. The signal was instantly made to engage, and a furious cannonade was maintained for nearly two hours, as the two fleets passed each other, going on contrary tacks. D'Orvilliers had thirty-two ships of the line in action to oppose to Keppel's thirty, but a much more considerable disproportion was in the number of the French frigates. The French lost most in killed and wounded, but the masts and rigging of the English were more injured. When the fleet had run the gauntlet Keppel wore round to renew the engagement; but Sir Hugh Palliser's division, which had been closest engaged, and had much of their rigging loose, could not obey the signal, and thereupon Keppel bore down to join them, and formed his line of battle a-head. During this delay, d'Orvilliers, who claimed a victory because he had not been thoroughly beaten, edged away for Brest. Night fell, and the next morning, when Keppel's fleet were in pursuit, all that could be seen from the mast-head were some of the slowest of the French standing in-shore under a press of sail. Keppel returned to England to get new masts and new rigging. On the 18th of August d'Orvilliers again put to sea to traverse the Bay of Biscay and cruise off Cape Finisterre. On the 23rd Keppel sailed, but he stretched farther to the westward, to protect our merchant fleets returning from the two Indies, and to prevent any portion of the French fleet getting to America. Our East Indiamen and our West Indiamen all got safe home, and our privateers and cruisers captured a vast number of French trading vessels; but the two royal navies did not again come into collision, and the year ended, to the woful disappointment of the people, without one great naval victory over the French. Before d'Orvilliers put to sea the first time, Count d'Estaing sailed with a squadron from Toulon for North America, and was pursued by the bold but unlucky Admiral Byron, the "foul-weather Jack" of the sailors, who believed

that the elements had an antipathy to him, and that he could never go to sea without a terrific storm. This time Byron's ill-luck lay in his not being ready in time; but the tempest and hurricane came afterwards, and his squadron was scattered and crippled between the West India Islands and the Bank of Newfoundland. Having introduced the French to the war, we proceed once more to the great scene of hostilities in the western world.

The first thing to be noticed is the disgraceful infraction of the convention of Saratoga. Congress had scarcely done rejoicing for the wonderful success of General Gates, when they determined to break the bargain he had made. A man of a high sense of honour ought to have prevented the act of perfidy, or to have resigned his command and commission; but Gates did neither.* Boston was mentioned in the convention as the port at which Burgoyne's army was to be embarked for England; but as there was a difficulty, which ought to have been foreseen by the English general, in reaching that port early in the winter, Burgoyne applied to Washington to change the place of embarkation, and substitute Newport, in Rhode Island, or some other place on the Sound. Burgoyne added, that, if any unforeseen objection should be made to this proposal, he must request the indulgence, at least, for himself and his staff. Washington communicated the letter to congress, who passed a resolution that General Washington should be directed to inform General Burgoyne that congress would not receive nor consider any proposition for indulgence, nor for altering the terms of the convention of Saratoga, unless immediately directed to their own body. They felt, or pretended, an apprehension that the army which had surrendered, instead of sailing for England, would only go to New York or Philadelphia, to strengthen General Howe. Burgoyne and the high-minded British officers serving with him were incapable of so base a

* We omitted to mention that Gates was, by birth and education, an Englishman.

design, but there were members of congress fully capable of it, and hence, perhaps, a real fear in some of them. But it appears that this apprehension was very limited, and that the consideration which weighed with congress, and kept faith and honour out of sight, was this—that, though Burgoyne's three thousand and odd men might all keep the compact religiously, their arrival in England would enable the government to send out an equal number of troops employed in the home service, or on some other station, and free from any convention not to serve in America. Making a loud talk about the *uncertainty* of the honour of English officers, to justify or cover their own predetermined breach of faith, they passed a resolution directing their general, Heath, to transmit to the board of war a descriptive list of every person comprehended in the convention, "in order that, if any officer, soldier, or other person of the said army should hereafter be found in arms against these States in North America during the present contest, he might be convicted of the offence, and suffer the punishment in such case inflicted by the law of nations." Burgoyne and his officers bitterly resented these openly implied suspicions of their honour, and would not use their authority to pass the army before the note-takers and personal-description-makers of congress. The ruling and absolute majority of that sovereign body had very little delicacy or consideration for the feelings of a gallant and fallen enemy, and they chose to represent that the British officers and men were averse to having an accurate description taken of their persons only because they intended breaking the convention. But, after some demur, the natural effect of proud and honourable feeling, Burgoyne waived the objection, and his army was described, man by man, with all the minuteness of a French commissary of police, or of a framer of passports in the most rigid and suspicious of despotisms. Higher things might have been expected from Washington, but in all these matters he went hand in hand with congress. With more faith in American honour than circumstances justified, a number of British transports came round to take Burgoyne

and his troops on board. The wonder was that the New Englanders did not take these ships, and hold them as fair prizes; but the attempt, probably, was not made for want of means to contend on the water with the convoy. Burke was right to the letter when he called all these people dabblers in law, and men prone to chicanery. They now pretended to find several flaws in the clauses of the convention of Saratoga; they pretended that the ships were not sufficient, or sufficiently furnished with provisions, for the voyage to Europe; and that, therefore, General Howe, who sent them, must contemplate the shorter voyage to Sandy Hook or the Delaware; and they further pretended that some of the British soldiers had secreted "several cartouche-boxes," which, they said, were comprehended in the technical term *arms;* and upon these narrow premises, too contemptible for the stand of a pedlar, they built up—using, in their ordinary way, as cement, the law of nations—the conclusion that, as the convention stipulated that the arms should be delivered up, the English soldiers, by secreting the several cartouche-boxes aforesaid, had broken the convention. We copy these facts from an American writer, who says, apparently without a blush, "this was deemed an infraction of the letter of the compact, which, on rigid principle, justified the measures afterwards adopted by congress.* The British officers denied, most emphatically, that there had been any attempt to carry off a single thing that could be classed under the denomination of arms; and many of them complained that the Americans had shamefully broken the convention by lightening them of their baggage on their road. If the men had kept a few old cartouche-boxes and gibernes, the same police functionaries that took the men's portraits might have taken and stopped those valuable commodities. The whole subject was referred to a committee of congress, who, in their report, enumerated their suspicions, and dwelt with great force upon these several cartouche-boxes; and thereupon

* Marshall, Life of Washington.

congress resolved (on the 8th of January) that "the embarkation of Lieutenant-General Burgoyne, and the troops under his command, should be suspended until a distinct and explicit ratification of the convention of Saratoga should be properly notified by the court of Great Britain to congress." As they knew that this ratification could not be made, they threw the men into prison. They sent two copies of their resolution to General Heath, with directions to deliver one of them to Burgoyne, and to order the British transports to quit the neighbourhood of Boston without delay. Burgoyne instantly addressed a letter to congress; but he appealed to the sense of honour and soldierly faith in quarters where that sense was very dull; and he insisted on the embarkation of his army as stipulated in the convention, which was the thing congress had determined all along not to adhere to. His letter was referred to a committee, who reported that nothing therein contained was sufficient to induce congress to alter their resolutions. Burgoyne then demanded that he, at least, might be permitted to return to England upon parole, stating, rather meanly, that his health required it. This request was readily granted; and it was in this manner that Burgoyne had been allowed to come home, leaving his army behind him—a proceeding which apparently inflamed the mind of George III. as much as the blunders of his campaign and its fatal catastrophe.*

While these ignoble transactions were passing, congress were sitting in the town of York, in an obscure corner of Pennsylvania, and Washington was lying *hutted* at Valley Forge, suffering, with his whole army, beyond the limits of common mortal endurance. Here the great man again, and most indisputably, shows himself. His people were left destitute of provisions, clothes, shoes, and everything necessary; the commissaries of the army, patriots and republicans as they were, were scarcely more honest than the commissaries of King

* Marshall, Life of Washington, and Washington's own Letters.

George; and the population of the country round about, who were not very republican in their principles, preferred selling their stock and provisions to the royal army to giving them to their countrymen for little or nothing. At the end of December, when Washington contemplated a movement in force, to prevent the British troops from foraging, and to destroy a large quantity of hay on Derby Creek, he was stopped short by the alarming disclosure that the commissary's store was exhausted, and that the last ration had just been delivered to his half-famishing soldiers. In the course of the day he ordered the country to be scoured, and provisions to be seized wherever found. He then applied to congress, who, as the only support they could give, ordered him to continue to scour the country, to seize provisions wherever he could within seventy miles of his head-quarters, and either to pay for them in paper-money—the only money he and they had—or in certificates, for the redemption of which the good faith of the United States was pledged. It happened, however, rather unfortunately for the credit of this good faith, that, when the first of these certificates were presented, they were dishonoured, as the government had provided no funds to take them up. As for the paper-money of congress, it had risen to the maximum of discount and fallen to the minimum of value: and, as Howe continued to pay in good coined money, and at a liberal rate, for all articles of provisions, the people continued to drive their carts and navigate their boats to Philadelphia, at times over-stocking the market to save their property from the sharp hands and stomachs of Washington's scourers and foragers. Setting the congress laws at defiance, and exercising great ingenuity, the country-people concealed their provisions, showing empty house, larder, and store whenever an American soldier presented himself, and contrived for a long while to steal through the lines thrown out to intercept them. Washington continued to seize what he could reach; but congress thought he was far too mild and considerate, and that he did not seize half enough: and while the people were cursing him for taking forcible possession of

their property, and for depriving them even of the bread and meat they wanted for their own mouths, congress actually censured his forbearance, and sent him instructions for the rigorous exertion of the power with which he was invested to "*impress*" from the people whatever the army wanted. Washington ventured to state that provisions had been *impressed* very extensively, and to suggest that such seizures might be more readily submitted to by the people if executed by *the civil authority*. He, however, in obedience to congress, issued a proclamation requiring all the farmers within seventy miles of Valley Forge to thresh out one-half of their grain by the 1st of February, and the rest by the 1st of March, under the penalty of having the whole seized as straw. But the farmers for some time avoided compliance, and continued to conceal their corn and stock. In many cases they defended their property against the hungry foragers with musket and rifle, and in some cases they burnt what they could not defend. Washington saw that this was not the way to make converts to the new republic, and he was disgusted with the rapine and licentiousness to which the practice directly led. He told congress that supplies of provisions and clothing must be procured in some other way, or the army must cease to exist. This squeamishness was not likely to please congress, in which, moreover, a very strong party had been formed directly and personally against the commander-in-chief. This section madly pretended that Washington ought to have captured the army of General Howe, as Gates had captured that of Burgoyne; and that the conduct of Gates proved that he, and not Washington, was the proper man to have the supreme command of the army of the United States. Gates entertained the same opinion, and wrote strongly against Washington to his friends sitting in congress. This correspondence came to the knowledge of Washington, and the hostility of the party in congress could hardly be concealed from him. He, however, retained in a wonderful degree the affection and the admiration of his own army, and he resolved not to abandon the cause he had embraced from pique or

jealousy. In a letter addressed to Mr. Laurens, his own particular friend, and now president of congress, he pointedly explained his difficulties and justified his conduct. He was a proud man, and he spoke contemptuously of "*a malignant faction*," which should not, he said, prevent him from doing his duty: he complained of an anonymous paper exhibiting many serious charges against him, but hoped that that paper might be regularly submitted to congress. Speaking of his generalship, he said, with commendable modesty, that he might very often have been mistaken in his judgment, and have deserved the imputation of error; but no man had endeavoured more to do his best, and had more at heart the public good and the approbation of his countrymen. For the present the voice of his enemies was silenced, but congress did little to remove the hardships under which he was labouring. His men remained with only such food as they could seize, without clothes, without shoes, without blankets to warm them through the long nights of the inclement winter. His consequent ill-humour against the comfortably housed and well provided gentlemen who were playing the part of suffering patriots vicariously, and who were realizing Lord Barrington's prediction by obtaining the palm of martyrdom without the pain of it, broke out occasionally in forcible or pungent language. "I can assure those gentlemen," said he, "that it is a much easier and less distressing thing to draw remonstrances in a comfortable room, by a good fire-side, than to occupy a cold bleak hill, and sleep under frost and snow, without clothes or blankets. However, although they seem to have little feeling for the naked and distressed soldiers, I feel superabundantly for them, and from my soul pity those miseries which it is not in my power either to relieve or prevent."* In conse-

* In the same letter Washington says—"Soap, vinegar, and other articles allowed by congress, we see none of; nor have we seen them, I believe, since the battle of Brandywine. The first (soap), indeed, we have little occasion for; few men having more than one shirt, many only the moiety

quence of the non-importation agreement and of the interruption of nearly all commerce by the war, the quantity of cloth and woollen goods in the whole country was very inconsiderable, and the home manufactures were altogether insufficient to make up the deficiency. The interior of the country was scoured, broad-cloth and blankets were impressed wherever they could be found, but still the soldiers remained badly provided. In the New England provinces, where the sea-coast was more extensive and the art of smuggling and running goods better understood, clothes, arms, and other commodities were abundant; but the New Englanders sought to derive a commercial advantage from the scarcity and distress of the south, and put an enormous price upon their goods, for the want of which Washington's army were absolutely perishing. Congress interfered with a strong hand, broke a contract which had been concluded by the clothier-general of Massachusetts, and ordered the state-government to seize, for the use of the army, at prices to be fixed by the legislature, all such goods as the army wanted! These orders were extended to the other states, and Washington wrote letters to recommend or enforce obedience to them, representing that the very existence of the army and the continuance of the struggle with Great Britain depended upon the supplies. These were circumstances calculated to increase popular discontent; and they were followed by other still stronger measures. Washington saw very clearly that there was little hope of recruiting his forces for the next year's campaign by *voluntary* enlistment, and he recommended the immediate employment of coercion;—that is to say, the defenders of this free and matchless democracy were to be *pressed* into the service, as we at the time impressed a part of our seamen. The proposition startled even con-

of one, and some none at all..... We have, by a field return this day made, besides a number of men confined to hospitals for want of shoes, and others in farmers' houses on the same account, no less than 2898 men, now in camp, unfit for duty, because they are barefooted, and otherwise naked."

gress; but after some debate it was agreed to. Of the recruits thus torn from their homes, many deserted and joined the British forces. Day after day some two or three half-naked, half-famished men stole away from Valley Forge or from the out-posts, and went over to Howe with their arms. By means of these frequent desertions, the English general must of necessity have been fully informed of the wretched, helpless condition of that army; yet he never moved from his comfortable quarters to crush it, or dissipate it at a blow; and he allowed Washington to molest his convoys and frequently to intercept his supplies. By this time the paper-money of congress was refused by the officers serving under Washington: many of them who had no private fortune threw up their commissions in disgust, and most of those who remained were pennyless and in rags. Thus there was, at least, one kind of equality, the officers being as ragged as the men. As the whole of the country had been actually exhausted, it was necessary to forage, levy, and impress at a great distance. Provisions were secured and brought in, but by this time a terrible putrid fever had broken out in the camp; and the disease carried off many men already attenuated by bad living. While the army at Valley Forge was in this condition, the congress at York Town, at the instigation of the board of war, composed of Gates, Conway, Starke, and other personal enemies of Washington, resolved to make another irruption into Canada. The plan was completed without a word of intimation to the commander-in-chief. Lafayette was to have the command of the expedition, and Generals Conway and Starke were to serve under him. It was calculated that a young Frenchman of high rank would have a surprising effect upon the French, or French-descended, people in Canada; but it was somewhat singular that such umbrageous politicians as the members of congress should not, from the first moment, have suspected that Lafayette might make the Canadians rise in arms, not to join the thirteen United States, but to restore the ancient sovereignty of France, and that connexion with their mother-country which had been

broken off by the chances of war not twenty years before this period. We believe, however, that the suspicion went close upon the heels of Lafayette's appointment, and was one of the weighty causes which induced congress to neglect this cherished scheme of conquest or enlargement. Washington heard, for the first time, of this expedition on the 24th of January, when he received a letter from his rival, Gates, as president of the board of war, enclosing another letter to the French marquis, requiring his immediate attendance on congress to receive his instructions. The marquis assures us that all his requests were granted, and that at Gates's own house he braved the whole anti-Washington party, and threw them into confusion by making them drink Washington's health! He was told that 2500 men would be assembled at Albany; that he would find a great body of militia a little farther up the Hudson; and that he should have a little money in specie and 2,000,000 of dollars *in paper;* that from the head of the Hudson he must proceed to Lake Champlain, cross that water on the ice, burn the English flotilla at the Isle aux Noix, and then, descending the Sorel and crossing the St. Lawrence, repair to Montreal, there to act as circumstances might require.

The confident young Frenchman set out to execute the plan. On arriving at Albany he found that congress could *mis*-calculate: instead of 2500 men, there were not 1200 there; and, as for the militia, it had either not received or not attended to the summons. Clothes, provisions, sledges, were all wanting; and he must have found his 2,000,000 of paper dollars scarcely worth the carriage. He was quite sure that if proper preparations had been made in time he would have driven the English out of Canada. But congress now could not, or would not, make any exertions to supply the deficiencies of which he complained; and in the month of March the lakes began to thaw, and intelligence arrived that the English were well prepared to receive him. In his own words—"the enemy were in a good position, and General Carleton was preparing for him another Saratoga.

Forced to take a decisive step, he wrote a calm letter to congress, and with a heavy sigh gave up the enterprise. At the same moment congress, becoming less confident, sent him some wavering counsels, which could only have served *to commit him and justify themselves afterwards.*" Having nothing better to do, he paid a visit to some of the wild Indians on the Mohawk river, and endeavoured to engage them in the service of congress. He confesses, however, that a few louis d'or, which he distributed with some stuffs from the State of New York, produced but little effect upon the savages, when compared with the presents they had received from England. He left a French officer among them to build a fort; and then, returning to Albany, he, as a general of the district, administered to the population a new form of oath, which had been devised by congress, and which included a full acknowledgment of the independence, liberty, and sovereignty of the United States, an eternal renunciation of George III., and every king of England, together with a promise and vow to defend the said United States, &c.* After these performances Lafayette was permitted to return to the camp of Washington, for whom he always professed the greatest affection and esteem. At this time the commander-in-chief of the American army obtained a much more important coadjutor in Baron Steuben, a Prussian officer, who had served for many years on the staff of Frederick the Great. Steuben engaged to teach the raw troops of the republic the system of field exercise which his Prussian majesty had introduced or improved; and, strange as it may appear, considering the military reputation of Washington, the Americans now began, for *the first time*, to adopt one uniform system of field exercise. Washington had

* "It is singular," says Lafayette,—and we must repeat his words, and say it was singular indeed,—"that the oath of renunciation of Great Britain and her king, which every one employed in the American service was compelled to take, should have been administered in one half of the United States by a *Frenchman only twenty years of age.*"

interest enough to get him appointed inspector-general of the army, in lieu of Conway, who had been intriguing against him; and, as Steuben's long lessons were not interrupted by General Howe, the American troops profited by them, so as to present a far more soldierly appearance when they next took the field.* According to every rational calculation it must have required some very extraordinary exertion of stupidity and misconduct to render Howe and his army as unpopular in Philadelphia, where they had been so welcomed at their coming, as Washington and his army were in the harassed, plundered, and thoroughly-oppressed country all round Valley Forge, and all through several of the southern States. It is certain, however, that Howe and his people accomplished this undesired end. They seem to have reversed the standing maxim of Marshal Turenne, and to have thought the more drinking, gaming, and licentiousness in a garrison the better. The whole winter was spent in idleness, or in dissipation and revelry. Every regimental mess was a scene of nightly orgies. The men, when opportunity served, followed the example of their officers, and, on duty and off, got most loyally drunk.

All this made Franklin say that Howe had not taken Philadelphia but Philadelphia Howe. Both the general and his brother Lord Howe were dissatisfied with the appointment of the new commissioners to treat with the Americans, although their own names were included in the commission; but the sloth and seeming recklessness of the general began long before they could possibly have received intelligence of Lord North's last conciliatory plan, under which the new commissioners were appointed. It appears that they resolved not to act under Lord Carlisle, who was placed at the head of the new commission. The whole sad history of this shamefully-conducted war is full of these piques and jealousies; but General Howe's conduct was equally censurable when, to all appearance, he was not influenced by any such feeling.

* Stedman.—Marshall.—Lafayette.—Washington's own Letters.

Early in March, Lieutenant-Colonel Mawhood, with a detachment from the main army, consisting of two regiments and some New Jersey volunteers, embarked in transports, fell down the Delaware, and landed on the coast of Jersey, near Salem. The objects of their expedition were to procure forage and convey arms and ammunition to the American Royalists, who were groaning under the harsh regulations adopted by congress to feed, clothe, and increase Washington's army. Being reinforced by the Queen's Rangers and about thirty cavalry, Colonel Mawhood began to forage in the rear of Hancock's and Quintin's bridges. At the latter place a slight affair took place. A considerable throng of Americans, partly militia, and in part drawn from the regular army at Valley Forge, were collected on the opposite bank of the creek. Mawhood, by a successful feint and ambuscade, drew them over the bridge, and routed them with loss. Some were taken prisoners, but the greater part were drowned in the creek. Their commanding officer, who proved to be a Frenchman, was among the prisoners. The only man killed on the side of the British was a hussar, and he was most foully slain.* Almost immediately afterwards another brush took place at Hancock's Bridge, where about thirty of the Americans were killed. Another attempt was made to surprise another body, but they had been alarmed the preceding night at the approach of a cow, had fired at it, and then fled. The whole American force now retired behind another creek, sixteen miles off, leaving the country to be foraged at leisure by the British detachment.

* "Here we shall give place to an anecdote, authenticated by the authority of Colonel Simcoe, who commanded the rangers, that affords a specimen of that base and ungenerous spirit with which many individuals in the American armies showed themselves, in the course of the war, to be actuated. The hussar was wounded by a man whom, in the eagerness of the pursuit, he had passed, and given quarter to him without disarming him. The villain was killed by another hussar."—*Stedman.*

Having procured what he wanted, and distributed some muskets and bayonets to the Royalists, Mawhood returned as he came to Philadelphia. Other excursions were made in different directions. They generally succeeded in their petty objects; they sometimes engaged advanced posts and detachments of Washington's army, but they never attempted to make any impression at Valley Forge. The fighting was chiefly for hay, corn, clothes, and blankets. The rancour between the contending parties was now extreme and universal: it was a personal feeling in every breast, and the oldest of our soldiers, or those best acquainted with the rules of war, and the common courtesies and tacit agreements between belligerents, which rob war of many of its horrors, and bring brave enemies to respect one another, were most inflamed against the Americans for their constant insensibility to those courtesies, and for their continual breaches of all rules or agreements whatsoever. It can scarcely be said that the members of congress were more delicate than the soldiery, militia, and back-woodsmen: they broke nearly every capitulation or convention, large or small. As the Americans had adopted, from the beginning, a systematic retaliation, and as they frequently inflicted the revenge without ascertaining the truth or the amount of the injury said to have been inflicted upon their people, the British prisoners of war, and their auxiliaries the Germans, were made to suffer very severely.

Towards the end of the month of April the greater part of an American brigade commanded by Lacy, general of the Pennsylvanian militia, took post at a place called the Crooked Billet, upon the high road about seventeen miles from Philadelphia. Lacy was employing himself in *impressing* and foraging, and in stopping the country-people from going to the Philadelphian market, when he was surprised, taken in the rear, and almost surrounded by a British detachment of horse and foot, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Abercrombie and Major Simcoe, who had effected a combined movement with admirable ability and rapidity. Lacy lost all his baggage and stores and a considerable number

of men, but the rest fled by a road still open to them, and far too rapidly to be overtaken by our tired men or worn-out horses. This excursion had the effect of intimidating the militia, who appeared no more near Philadelphia, except in small flying parties. On the 7th of May an expedition was made, by sea and land, to destroy all the American shipping in the upper part of the Delaware between Philadelphia and Trenton. Forty-four American vessels were burnt, some of them of value; a considerable quantity of stores and provisions was destroyed; and an inconsiderable number of men killed and wounded. On the 19th of May, Washington detached Lafayette with nearly 3000 men to take post at Barren Hill, a position seven miles in advance of Valley Forge, but upon the opposite side of the Schuylkill.

The movement had no apparent object, and the position was singularly ill-chosen, as the communications between it and Valley Forge were difficult, and easy to be interrupted by an active enemy. We can only suppose that Washington thought nothing was to be apprehended from so dilatory an enemy as Howe, whose intention, moreover, of abandoning Philadelphia was now generally known. But on the night of the 20th of May, Howe sent 5000 of his choicest troops to look after the young Frenchman. General Grant reached the position he was directed to occupy, about a mile in the rear of Lafayette, and between him and Valley Forge, before sunrise: General Grey, who had pursued a different line of march, took post at Chesnut Hill, between two and three miles from Lafayette's right flank, and rather nearer to Matson's Ford, (the only passage across the Schuylkill,) than was the French general's position. Lafayette was taken completely by surprise, for he had dispensed with the precaution of throwing out patrols and pickets. There was no utility in his being where he was, and with a little more activity on the part of the English he could never have left the spot. Washington, from Valley Forge, by means of glasses, discovered Lafayette's peril: he would not venture from his own camp, where he had scarcely 4000 men, to his relief;

but he began to fire some great guns to warn the marquis of his danger. The Frenchman instantly fled pell-mell with his detachment, leaving on his way six field-pieces. These were the last military operations in America over which Sir William Howe presided, and that general was now looking to a speedy return home, and a different sort of campaign in the House of Commons; being fully resolved, like Burgoyne, to join the most clamorous section of the opposition, and to lay all the blame of his miserable failures and gross misconduct upon ministers. Admiral Lord Howe was almost as eager to return home as his brother; but Lord Sandwich had assured him that it would be considered as a very great additional misfortune if the advantage of his able assistance were lost in the present critical state of affairs; and the rumours of the French war, and then the arrival of the French fleet on the coast of America, induced him to stay. Yet it appears he remained reluctantly, and did not alter his determination to give up his command.*

On the 6th of June, only a fortnight after General Howe's departure, Lord Carlisle, Governor Johnstone, and Mr. Eden, the new commissioners, arrived at Philadelphia, to attempt to carry into effect Lord North's conciliatory plan. They made application to Washington for a passport for their secretary, Dr. Adam Ferguson, a most high-spirited and able man, whose name was already advantageously known in the world of letters, and who afterwards devoted himself more closely to historical literature, and left a name which the world will not let perish. Washington harshly refused the pass, which was only to enable Ferguson to lay some overtures of the commission before congress; and he forwarded the letter of the king's commissioners to congress by the common military post. Ferguson, who had a most gallant spirit in a martial frame of body, and who was as well fitted by nature to fight battles as to describe them, returned from Washington's outposts in no small disgust. Congress, after deliberating for some few days

* Sir John Barrow, Life of Earl Howe.

on the communications, replied to the king's commissioners, through their president, that the act of parliament, the commission, and the commissioners' own letter, all supposed the people of the American States to be still subjects of the king of Great Britain, and were all founded upon an idea of dependence which was utterly inadmissible; that they were ready to enter upon the consideration of a treaty of peace and commerce not inconsistent with treaties they had previously contracted (Silas Deane had just arrived from Paris with the French treaties ratified, and with abundant assurances of assistance and co-operation), whenever the king of Great Britain should show a sincere disposition for that purpose; the only proof of which would be an explicit acknowledgment of their independence, or the withdrawing his fleets and armies from the United States. They expressed their full approbation of Washington's conduct in refusing the passport to Dr. Ferguson. They would not have been quite so bold if they had not expected every moment the arrival in the Delaware of the fleet of Count d'Estaing, with a considerable land-force on board. Irritated at what they considered the gross insolence of congress, and encouraged by the well-known weakness of Washington, the British officers looked with impatience for the moment when they should be led on to Valley Forge. But Sir Henry Clinton, who had succeeded Howe,—apparently limited by his instructions from the government at home—was only thinking of evacuating Philadelphia. It was known that Count d'Estaing was at sea, and had the start of his pursuer, Admiral Byron; but it was not known on what part of the coast he might throw his troops, or whether his destination might not be our West India islands.

Philadelphia was a very bad point from which to watch the new enemy, or to throw reinforcements to such places as might be menaced. New York too, the far more important position, might be put in jeopardy if the French should appear in great force. These certainly were strong reasons for recommending a retreat to the Hudson; but it appears to us, as it did to most of

the officers present, that before beginning the retreat Clinton ought to have made an assault on Valley Forge. Two days would have been enough for the march and the battle, and a day and a half for the return to Philadelphia. If Washington had stayed to fight he must have been thoroughly beaten, and we believe that his intention was to have stayed and have risked a battle. As it was, the evacuation of Philadelphia was not begun till the 17th of June, or nearly a month after the departure of Howe. What had been done during that interval—in a length of time in which great men have begun and ended a campaign, and with it a whole war? We know not. The disheartened troops were followed by a long and sad train of the inhabitants, consisting of nearly all the Royalists of Philadelphia, who carried with them their merchandise and their moveable property. It was a hard fate thus to become outcasts and wanderers with an army which had encouraged them to commit themselves, and which had failed in protecting them in their homes; but the few who ventured to remain suffered worse things at the hands of their countrymen: some were banished and despoiled of all their property, some were thrown into prison and tried for their lives, and two—Roberts and Carlisle, both Quakers and men of respectable character—were hanged as traitors. From the Jersey shore the march of the army was exceedingly slow; for the country abounded with rough roads and difficult passes, and Clinton had very properly judged it necessary to carry with him a heavy supply of provisions and baggage. A detachment of Americans entered Philadelphia at one end as the last companies of the British marched out at the other, and Washington had detached General Maxwell, with a brigade, into New Jersey, with orders to assemble the militia, break down the bridges, and harass and impede the British troops, until he, with the main army, which was now rapidly receiving reinforcements as the British seemed flying, should cross the Delaware to fall upon their rear. But the broken bridges were soon mended, the militia were everywhere driven from the passes they occupied, and,

though Washington crossed the Delaware and hung upon Clinton's flank and rear, he did not venture to attack him, and carefully selected for himself such ground, and such a line of march, as prevented his being attacked by the British. Several days passed in this manner, the enemy pursuing, or following, being in evident fear of the army that was retreating. Washington, it appears, was for hazarding a general engagement; but, of seventeen generals, only Wade and Cadwallader were decidedly in favour of attacking the enemy. General Lee, the deserter, who, instead of being hanged, had been recently exchanged, as if the British government had consented to the annulling of the rules of war and laws of nations, was most decidedly against hazarding either a general or partial engagement, vehemently maintaining the opinion that, though Washington had now with him from 11,000 to 12,000 fighting men, and Clinton not more than 10,000 effective men, the Americans must inevitably be beaten. The Prussian veteran, Steuben, concurred with Lee, as also did Du Portail, a French officer of some reputation. Young Lafayette dissented from Lee; but his opinion did not meet with much consideration. Washington, however, secretly determined to fight in spite of the great majority in the council of war, and, by this determination, he once more committed the safety of his army, involved himself in an irreconcilable quarrel with Lee, and lost a great many men. Having sustained this discomfiture, Washington hastened to the Hudson by another route, in order to join an army collected by Gage. Yet congress celebrated the affair of Freehold-Court House (it took place on the 28th of June) as a great and glorious victory, and a court-martial suspended from all command General Lee, whose military conduct on that day had been wiser and better than Washington's.

Clinton, with bag and baggage, got safely to New York on the 5th of July. On the 11th of that month the French fleet, under Count d'Estaing, arrived off Sandy-Hook, where Admiral Lord Howe was lying with a very inferior force. But d'Estaing would not venture

upon an attack; and, after lingering eleven days in the neighbourhood of New York, he sailed away for Rhode Island, to co-operate with General Sullivan in an attempt to drive the English from that island. There the Americans and their allies quarrelled violently with one another, and did very little else. Instead of taking Rhode Island Sullivan was very near being taken; and d'Estaing, having put to sea to meet Lord Howe, had suffered great loss from a storm and a running fight. The Americans fled from Rhode Island in inconceivable disorder. They cleared out just in time; for, on the following day, a reinforcement of 4000 men, commanded by Sir Henry Clinton in person, arrived at Rhode Island. Sullivan attributed his failure solely to the French, and he published some letters reflecting very severely on the conduct of d'Estaing, and inserted in an order of the day that the Americans had been basely abandoned by their new allies. These animosities rose to such a height that d'Estaing was very badly received at Boston; tumults in the streets followed his arrival; the Yankee seamen hooted the French, and in a scuffle between them M. de Saint Sauveur, a French officer, was killed. Some of the hottest men in congress took up Sullivan's quarrel and complaints; and the French alliance, which had recently been so popular with the revolutionary party, and which was still so useful, was reprobated and reviled with a truly democratic licence of language. Nearly at the same moment other riots happened at Charlestown, in South Carolina, between American and French seamen, and they did not end till several lives were lost on both sides, in a hot fire of artillery and ship-guns.

In the meanwhile the king's commissioners had published certain strong reflections on the perfidy of the French, which they said was too universally acknowledged to require any new proof. Lafayette, like a vapouring coxcomb, challenged Lord Carlisle for these expressions, so dishonouring to his nation; but his lordship declined the duel, not without marks of contempt for the challenger. After relieving Rhode Island, Clinton returned towards New York as far as New London,

on the Connecticut coast, where he proposed making a descent for the purpose of destroying a swarm of privateers. But the weather proved unfavourable, and he continued his voyage to New York, detaching Major-General Grey to Buzzard Bay, in Massachusetts, another famous rendezvous of American privateers. Grey performed this duty with rapidity and success. Shortly after, Major-General Grey, who had enjoyed a great reputation for this kind of enterprises ever since his surprising General Wayne in the wood near Brandywine Creek, made an incursion into New Jersey, surrounded an American detachment at the dead of night, killed most of them, and took the rest, including the commander, Colonel Baylor, prisoners; and a small squadron, under the direction of Captain Collins, with some land troops on board, under the command of Captain Patrick Ferguson, not only destroyed a nest of privateers at Little Egg Harbour, on the coast of New Jersey, but also cut to pieces a part of the legion of Count Pulawski. These petty enterprises were conducted with a very rare combination of secrecy, celerity, bravery, and skill; but it was not by such operations that an end was to be put to such a war. But far more important operations took place on the side of Georgia. Being joined by many Americans of the South, and aided by the squadron of Sir Peter Parker, Colonel Campbell reduced the city of Savannah, drove Robert How, the congress general, before him, and made himself master of the province. A great majority of the inhabitants came in, took the oath of allegiance to King George, and submitted to the authority of the mother-country, against which they had half-reluctantly revolted. The hot dissenting ministers, who had first preached the Georgians into insurrection and republicanism, either fled across the Savannah river or changed their political principles for the nonce. Colonel Campbell did not hang or banish them, as Washington or congress had banished and hanged Royalists and quiet Quakers at Philadelphia. When men's blood was up, when our troops were exasperated by long suffering, and an accumulation of taunts, insults, injuries, and unsol-

dierly treacheries, savage deeds, no doubt, were occasionally committed in the field or on the march; but it cannot be said that the arm of government was ever vindictive or cruel; or that the cold-blooded severities of the law were brought in as an appendix to the hot cruelties of the soldiery. The animosities between Americans of opposite parties—between the republicans and Royalists—were far fiercer than those existing between the English and the Americans; and a constant irregular war carried on between them at various points was attended with circumstances of the deepest atrocity. The expelled Tories or Royalists of the back country had, in many instances, joined the savages of the woods, to lead with them a wandering, precarious life, to nurse their resentments, and to increase their ferocity by force of habit and the example of the Indians. These refugees for political opinions were dispossessed of their property, driven empty-handed from their homes; and they considered it a natural right to adopt all means in their power to recover what they had lost, or, at least, to retaliate on their brethren of the triumphant party who had reduced them to the condition of outcasts and vagabonds. These desperate men always found a ready co-operation on the part of the Indians, eager for spoil, and, like themselves, athirst for revenge; they knew the country they had quitted, and where to lead the Indians directly to spoil and booty, and also how to bring them off without danger; they had a list of houses and villages where their personal enemies resided, or where property was deposited; and they could tell to a nicety what places were strong and prepared for defence, and what places weak and defenceless. If the attack of the Royalists and red men was ferocious, so was the retaliation of the republicans. The troops of congress rushed upon the Indian settlements, destroyed their corn, burned their villages, exterminated all they could surprise, and forced the rest to retire farther from the frontiers of the states. The red men who escaped awaited another opportunity for revenge.

Having seen d'Estaing reduced to a condition in

which, for the present, he could not be dangerous, Lord Howe resigned his command to Rear-Admiral Gambier, and returned home. When he had refitted, the French admiral, taking advantage of a recent storm which had dispersed the English fleet, stole out of Boston harbour to undertake operations for conquests among our West India islands; which he and his government had at least so much at heart as the success of congress on the American continent. Our island of Dominica was surprised and captured in September; but, in the month of December, we conquered by hard fighting the French island of Sainte Lucie. During the siege of the fortresses in the latter isle, d'Estaing was repeatedly foiled, and once absolutely beaten, by a very inferior force of ships under Hotham and Barrington.

In consequence of the large drafts made upon it for service in Rhode Island, Georgia, and the West Indies, the army at New York did nothing more this year; and Washington, who had his head-quarters at White Marsh, was equally inactive from necessity.

The Marquis de Lafayette came back to France. According to his own account he returned merely to offer his sword to his own sovereign, who was now engaged as a principal in the war, and to induce the French court to send more considerable succours to congress, without any view to the conquest or appropriation of Canada; but congress certainly continued to occupy their minds with a grand Canadian expedition; and, as we believe, both the marquis and his court continued to look with an eager eye to their old colony. Moreover, the conquest of Halifax and Nova Scotia, the occupation of Newfoundland—where in the course of this year the English shipping had destroyed the fishing settlements allowed the French by the last treaty of peace—was to go hand-in-hand with the subduing of Canada; so that not a spot of earth in North America was to be left under the British flag. For these great ends Dr. Franklin and the marquis were to request Louis XVI. to furnish a well-appointed army, which was to sail from Brest under convoy of a good fleet, and to commence its operations

with the reduction of Halifax and Quebec. It was not till the month of October that this magnificent plan was transmitted to Washington, who at one glance saw the absurdity and danger of entering upon it. It came to him from congress with a request or order that he would forward it to Dr. Franklin by Lafayette, together with any observations he might have to offer upon it. Instead of complying, Washington instantly set himself to work to drive the whole scheme out of the heads of the men who had framed it. He knew how inadequate were the means of congress to carry out any extensive plan; and he was wise enough to see the danger of bringing back the French in force as neighbours—neighbours with whom the Americans had never been able to live in peace and amity.

On Lafayette's arrival in France he was enthusiastically received by all the war party. "I had the honour," he says, in his old French style, "of being consulted by all the ministers, and, what was far better, embraced by all the ladies. Those embraces lasted but one day; but I retained for a greater length of time the confidence of the cabinet, and I enjoyed both favour at the court of Versailles and popularity at Paris. I was the theme of conversation in every circle." As a show of royal displeasure for his disobedience in first going to America, he was ordered not to quit Paris for some days, and to avoid those places in which the public "might consecrate his disobedience by their loud applause." But the young queen showed him much favour, and at her intercession he was almost immediately honoured with the command of the dragoons of the king's guard.

The commissioners of George III. gave up their hopeless task, and returned to Europe before the French Marquis.

Thus ended all negotiation with congress. The commissioners, with considerable effect, appealed to the American people, in order, principally, to keep alive their aversion to the French; and the writing-men of congress set themselves to work to counteract these appeals—to prove to the people that the United States

could not in honour break their alliance with France; that the British commissioners were attempting to delude, to bribe, and corrupt; and that nothing but what was good and honourable could be expected from the French connexion and a manly perseverance in the war.

Parliament had assembled on the 25th of November. The speech from the throne announced the probability of Spain's joining France and America in this unprovoked war. In both Houses the address was opposed with all the heat of party. Charles Fox entered into a review of the unsuccessful operations of our grand fleet commanded by Keppel and Palliser, and attributed all the blame—the escape of d'Estaing to America, and the non-destruction of d'Orvilliers—to the disgraceful conduct of ministers and the admiralty, who had sent the fleet to sea too late, and inferior in force to the French. This was a subject which had been universally discussed in the country; but the popular feeling was that Sir Hugh Palliser, who had not obeyed certain signals made by Keppel, had been the sole cause of the capital failure. Impartiality did not preside over these discussions either in parliament or out of it: Keppel was a Whig, Palliser a Tory.

A.D. 1779.—The memorable trial of Admiral Keppel commenced at Portsmouth on the 7th of January. It lasted thirty-two days. It was said that Burke assisted the admiral in drawing up his defence. The accusation was general and vague—the sentence one of honourable acquittal. Upon this the cities of London and Westminster were illuminaned two successive nights, part of the lamps and candles being lighted voluntarily and spontaneously by Whigs, and part, through the intimidation of the mob, by Tories. Many riots, with a great smashing of windows took place; and individuals in the garb of gentlemen mixed with the rabble and assisted in these performances, which, it was calculated by some, would terrify ministers into a resignation. Effigies of Palliser were carried about suspended by the neck, and afterwards burned. The Common Council of the City

voted thanks, a freedom, and a box made of heart of oak richly ornamented to Keppel.

A day or two after Sir Hugh Palliser demanded a court-martial on himself, vacated his seat for Scarborough, resigned his seat at the board of admiralty, the government of Scarborough Castle, and his colonelcy of the marines, retaining only his appointment as vice-admiral. Keppel, though called on by the Admiralty, refused to lay any accusation against Palliser; yet, when the court-martial met, Keppel was of necessity a principal witness. The trial lasted twenty-one days. The sentence was—that, though his conduct and behaviour in battle had been in many respects highly exemplary and meritorious, they at the same time could not help thinking it was incumbent upon him to have made known to his commander-in-chief the disabled state of his ship, to which he attributed his not joining; but that, notwithstanding his omission in this particular, they were of opinion that he was not in any other respect chargeable with misconduct or misbehaviour, and that, therefore, they fully acquitted him.—The opposition in parliament, a large part of the public, and we believe Keppel himself, considered that Sir Hugh had been let off thus easily through the manœuvres of ministers; and assumed, as it had been all along, as a certainty that nothing but misconduct in one or other of the commanders could have prevented a most decisive and glorious victory. It was asked how, after Keppel had been acquitted, Palliser could be declared almost not guilty, and be permitted to escape with so slight a reprimand? At the same time Keppel complained of the cold, dry manner in which he had been ordered to resume the command of the fleet, of the omission in the letter from the admiralty-board of parts of the sentence which were most to his honour, and of the sullen reception he had met with at court. His friends in opposition contended that the whole line of conduct pursued by ministers in this affair went to confirm an opinion than which nothing could be more scandalous and disgraceful to government, namely, that the

attack upon the admiral's life and honour was the effect of a combination framed under and supported by the sanction of authority. Fox conducted these attacks in the Commons, and made a variety of motions, all bearing pointedly and heavily upon Lord Sandwich as the first lord of the admiralty.

The effect of all this party heat, not only upon the naval service, but also upon the army (which was otherwise discouraged and disorganised), was in the highest degree prejudicial.

Other motions mortally hostile to Sandwich were made in both Houses, but they were all out-voted by majorities of nearly two to one, which was now about the relative strength of administration and opposition, and no longer four to one, as in the earlier days of Lord North's government. The resignation of Admiral Keppel was closely followed by those of several distinguished naval officers, who declared that they could not serve under the present system or ministry. Other post-captains threatened to follow the example. In this state of things the surprise was not equal to the alarm when, a few weeks later, symptoms of mutiny appeared among the seamen of the grand fleet now assembled at Torbay—symptoms which were not suppressed without difficulty.

The war-office was scarcely left more tranquil than the admiralty. Lord Barrington had been, at last, allowed to escape out of its troubles, and Mr. Jenkinson (afterwards Lord Liverpool) had been named secretary-at-war in his stead. General Burgoyne, and the two Howes, who had seats in the House of Commons, assailed the perplexed government. Burgoyne imputed not only his own misfortune at Saratoga, but the failure of all commanders, whether by land or sea, to the intermeddling, short-sighted, and incapable ministry. General Howe excused Lord North, but it was only to throw the whole weight of the accusation upon the unpopular Lord George Germaine, who was said to have interfered on all occasions with the management of the army in America.

Ireland was calling for more freedom of trade. Much

more was asked for, and, but for commercial jealousy in England, something more would have been freely granted by government; but two acts were passed for encouraging the growth of tobacco and hemp and the manufacture of linen in Ireland, and a pecuniary grant was made. The boon was insufficient, and there were many turbulent spirits in Ireland who would not have been satisfied with any benefit. Some of these ardent politicians resolved to imitate the Americans. A non-importation agreement was set on foot in Dublin, Cork, Kilkenny, and other places. This alarming demonstration was accompanied by circumstances still more alarming: volunteer associations were formed; they armed and accoutred themselves at their own expense; and the rumour of invasion from France seemed to justify and call for such martial preparation: but ministers knew the prevailing discontents —they knew how busy American agents and correspondents had been with the Irish people; they dreaded the national inflammability, and they foresaw that these armed associations could end only in insurrection and civil war.

When Lord North, on the 16th of June, distinctly acquainted parliament that Spain had, without provocation or ground of complaint, joined our enemies, the voice of party seemed, for a moment, to be hushed. Both Houses were unanimous in their indignation, and both agreed to support with spirit the war against the whole house of Bourbon. But, in the Commons, Lord John Cavendish, who was out-voted by two to one, moved an address, praying his majesty to withdraw instantly every regiment and every ship from America; and in the Lords the Duke of Richmond moved, with the like ill success, to the same effect.

On the 3rd of July the king went down to parliament to pronounce the liberating words, for which many of the country gentlemen had shown great anxiety.

The country was ringing with reports of invasion and of new Spanish armadas, more terrible than that sent against Queen Elizabeth; and, as if to increase the alarm, six days after the prorogation, a proclamation was

issued, charging all officers, civil and military, in case of an invasion, to cause all horses, oxen, and cattle, and provisions to be driven from the sea-coast to places of security. It had required all the family influence of the greater branch of the House of Bourbon, and all the diplomatic activity and skill of French negotiators, to lead the Spanish monarch, who had suffered so materially from his last short war with England, into this new and certainly unprovoked contest. Charles III. could not but be alarmed for the tranquillity of his own American colonies, if encouraged by the example of successful rebellion; and he also shrank from what he considered the unkingly action of fomenting insurrection and allying himself with revolted subjects. When led to believe that revolution might flourish in North America without reaching the South; when dazzled by the brilliant offers of co-operation in Spanish schemes of conquest made by the court of Versailles; and when well filled with the credulous hope that the final hour of British supremacy at sea, and consequently of the British empire, was at hand, and that the united House of Bourbon would have little to do but to divide the spoils, Charles III. and his ministers proceeded in a mean and duplex manner, in order to give a pretext to their hostility.

Some time before the rupture Almodovar delicately hinted to our ministers, that for the restitution to Spain of the rock of Gibraltar his master would consent to remain neutral; but this price was thought too high for what must have been after all a very doubtful neutrality. The manifesto which Almodovar left behind him was indeed a singular composition, minute in its details of grievances, and most extensive as to time and geographical space, for it ranged over all parts of the world, and it enumerated with arithmetical precision nearly all the complaints that Spain had ever made. The sum total of grievances was put down *as nearly one hundred.* And, as a novel complaint, it was asserted that Great Britain had grossly insulted Spain by rejecting her mediation.*

* Adolphus, Hist. Geo. III.—Archdeacon Coxe, Memoirs

The splendid pen of Gibbon, the historian, had been employed by Lord North, or, rather, at the request of Thurlow, now lord chancellor, and of Lord Weymouth, to draw up, *in French*, an exposé of the motives of the conduct of Louis XVI.; but no such reply was deemed necessary to the childish manifesto of Spain.

Again, the first thoughts of the Spaniards were directed to the siege of Gibraltar. To facilitate this grand object and to preserve that other pillar of Hercules, Ceuta, on the African coast, Florida Blanca, some time before declaring hostilities against England, negotiated with the Emperor of Morocco, and entered into a regular treaty with the Moors. This, he calculated, would be of immense advantage in any attempt upon Gibraltar, as that garrison was accustomed to draw large supplies from the Barbary coast; and as the Moors, if left in a state of hostility, might have attacked Ceuta, while the Spaniards were trying to get Gibraltar, or by their piratical cruisers in the Straits have deranged all measures for the blockade of Gibraltar and the transport of provisions to the Spanish camp. A large army was collected at St. Roque, Algeciras, and the Campo, near Gibraltar, even before the negotiations at Madrid were terminated; and immediately after the declaration of war, this force began its very laborious operations for the reduction of the wonderful rock. At this time Charles III. had a fleet of forty sail, exclusive of ships destined for the protection of his colonies. Florida Blanca had warmly proposed despatching this fleet to join the fleet of Louis XVI. *during the negotiation*, when no resistance could be offered to the junction by the English, who were wholly unprepared for such a movement, who were actually treating with Spain as a friendly power, mediating a peace; but some remaining scruples prevented his Catholic majesty from following the advice of his minis-

of the Kings of Spain of the House of Bourbon. — Correspondence between Lord Weymouth, secretary of state, and Lord Grantham, the ambassador, as quoted by Coxe.

ter.* But, when war was declared, one of the earliest measures was this junction of the fleets of the House of Bourbon; and, while 50,000 men and a swarm of transports and flat-bottomed boats were collected on the French coast to make the English believe that an invasion was intended, and that they must keep their wooden walls close on their own shore to prevent a descent, d'Orvilliers, on the 3rd of June, hurried out of Brest with 30 French sail of the line and bore away for the Spanish coast. He met with no interruption or impediment, except from Spanish pride and Spanish laziness: he got to Cadiz Bay, where he was joined by 30 sail, and returning he was joined off Ferrol by 8 more Spanish ships of the line. With 68 sail of the line in all, and many frigates and smaller vessels, d'Orvilliers came on our coasts, where our grand fleet, since the resignation of Keppel under the command of Admiral Hardy, did not exceed thirty-eight sail of the line. There were some days of intense anxiety. On the 15th of August, while Hardy was cruising in the soundings, the French and Spaniards appeared off Plymouth, and some French frigates, anchoring in Cawsand Bay, captured a number of coasting vessels. On the 16th the 'Ardent,' of 64 guns, commanded by Captain Boteler, standing down Channel, fell in with the enemy's fleet, and mistaking it for the British, was surrounded and captured within sight of Plymouth. After parading two or three days before Plymouth the combined fleet were driven out of the Channel by a strong east wind which blew for several days, and prevented Hardy from getting in. On the 31st of August the wind shifted to the westward, and Hardy, with great skill, gained the entrance of the Channel, in sight of, and in spite of, the French and Spaniards. If they could have kept him out of the Channel they would have fought him at large; but he had completely out-manœuvred them, and, though they followed him a few leagues, they would not hazard a

* Florida Blanca's Representation of his Ministerial Conduct, &c., as cited by Archdeacon Coxe.

battle in the narrow sea, where the advantage of their superior numbers might be lost for want of sea-room, and where the navigation would be difficult and dangerous. Hardy anchored the next morning at Spithead—and England was safe. The unmanly panic on shore had lasted but for a moment; the coast was now covered with troops, militia, and volunteers; fresh ships were fitting out with almost magical rapidity, and cruisers at sea were recalled to the Channel. But the growth of this strength was not more rapid than the progress of weakness and decay, and dissension in the combined fleet. A terrible sickness broke out among both French and Spaniards, and their commanders dreaded the equinoctial gales which were now approaching. After cruising a day or two longer about the Land's End, d'Orvilliers made the signal for retiring, and French and Spaniards ran into Brest to perish there of disease. The loss of the 'Ardent' was soon made up by the capture of a large Spanish frigate off the Western Islands; another Spanish frigate off Cape Finisterre; a Spanish register-ship, pierced for 64 guns, and carrying a considerable treasure from Lima to Cadiz; a rich Manilla ship—said to be the richest taken since the famed Manilla galleon captured by Lord Anson;—another Plate-ship, with nearly 200,000 dollars in specie, a quantity of bullion and other valuable merchandise, together with an infinite variety of small Spanish craft.

Nor did a gleam of success attend the exertions of the Spaniards in front of the obdurate and impenetrable Rock in the whole course of this year. Charles III. was grievously vexed by the French refusing to co-operate immediately in his plans for reducing Gibraltar and Minorca, for recovering the Floridas, and for re-conquering Jamaica. France had plans of her own: each party was greedy for separate conquest and aggrandisement, and each accused the other of selfishness and disregard of the true principles of the alliance and family compact.

In the Western world the earliest movements commenced among the sugar islands. In January d'Estaing

fled before the united squadrons of Byron and Barrington; in the month of June, in the absence of Byron, he captured the island of St. Vincent; and in the month of July he made himself master of Grenada. But, in a loose, irregular, undecided action (undecided, because, though stronger in ships, he would not fairly measure his strength with Byron), he sustained a prodigious loss from the fact of his fleet being crammed full of troops. On the American continent the war dragged on, although the troops of congress were defeated nearly every time that they had adventured upon an open field of battle. General Prevost, moving from Georgia, made an incursion into South Carolina, carried off a great supply of provisions, established a strong garrison at Fort Royal, a commanding position on the coast, and thoroughly beat General Lincoln, who, with a far superior force, attempted to molest him on his march back to Savannah.

Meanwhile Virginia had been sharply chastised by General Matthews, who had been detached from New York, and Admiral Sir George Collier. By the exports of tobacco from Virginia by the Chesapeak, the credit of congress with foreign nations was principally supported; and by the inland navigation of that deep bay the produce both of Virginia and North Carolina was conveyed to the middle colonies for the support of Washington's army. Though in very inconsiderable force our soldiers and sailors ascended the Chesapeak, swept both its banks, explored its tributary rivers, drove the Americans from all their towns and fortifications, burned all their arsenals, store-houses, and shipping, and returned, loaded with spoil, to New York, after an absence of only twenty-four days. This punishment was as *terrible* as the means of inflicting it were easy; but it was not considered that lenity was now due to a people who had armed or were arming all Europe against us.

A few days after their return from Virginia, Collier and Matthews proceeded up the Hudson, and drove Washington's people from Verplank's Neck and Stoney Point, two important positions on the river which they

were fortifying; and a flotilla, and 2600 land troops, under the command of Tryon, late Governor of New York, inflicted on the coast and many of the towns of Connecticut, the same sort of chastisement which had been suffered by Virginia. Many of the republican New Englanders were reduced to poverty by this devastating expedition; and a universal outcry was raised in these States against Washington for not having quitted his strong positions in the hills and marched to their assistance.

Before our garrison left at Stoney Point could put that place in order, General Wayne fell upon them, by night and in great force, and recovered the position. But the Americans were foiled and beaten before Fort Lafayette, and were soon compelled to evacuate Stoney Point once more. As Washington was not to be tempted from his strong and unassailable ground in the hilly country, Clinton now remained inactive at New York. General Francis Maclean, with only 650 men, proceeded from Nova Scotia to the Bay of Penobscot, in order to form a settlement and establish a military post which might serve to check the incursions of the Massachusetts men into Nova Scotia, and to obtain timber for the use of the king's yards at Halifax. This duty was performed with great heroism and ablility. The Americans made every possible effort to dislodge so dangerous a neighbour: but Maclean made good his position against a besieging force of 3000 land troops, and a whole fleet of armed vessels. A fresh regiment of the American line was making for the place, when Sir George Collier sailed into Penobscot Bay, and instantly put all the besiegers to flight. The British sailors captured or destroyed nearly all their ships; and in the course of a few hours scarcely a trace was to be seen of the Massachusetts armament. The fugitives, without provisions, had to explore their way for upwards of a hundred miles through a pathless desert. A fierce quarrel broke out between the seamen and landsmen, and a battle was fought in that wilderness which cost the lives of fifty or sixty of the number. A great many more perished of fatigue and famine. Having

relieved and re-inforced the brave Maclean, Sir George Collier returned to New York, where he found himself superseded by the arrival of Admiral Arbuthnot. Collier came home, not leaving so good or so active a commander behind him.

Misled by reports that d'Estaing intended a visit to New York, General Clinton now withdrew his troops from Rhode Island, abandoning that place to the republicans. But d'Estaing's great blow was to be struck in Georgia, not at New York.

Early in September, the French fleet, which now counted twenty-four ships of the line and fourteen frigates, having a considerable land-force, and a long train of French and American privateers, appeared off the mouth of the Savannah river, where an English 50-gun ship, a small frigate, and two store-ships were surprised and captured. As soon as d'Estaing arrived in the Georgian river, Lincoln, with an American army, moved from South Carolina to co-operate in the siege of Savannah, and masses of militia poured in from various quarters, encouraged by the well-known weakness of the English garrison. D'Estaing alone landed 3000 men. At one time the number of the besiegers exceeded 10,000. Yet General Sir George Prevost, who, counting regulars, Royalist militia, sailors, volunteers, negroes and all, could not muster above 2500, nobly maintained the almost open town, repulsing French and Americans at every assault, inflicting a terrible loss upon them, and finally compelling them to raise the siege. On the night of the 18th of October, the allies moved from their ground and separated, with no very friendly feelings on either side. The French got on board their ships and made sail for the West Indies; the Americans recrossed the Savannah river into S. Carolina. D'Estaing had scarcely embarked ere his fleet was dispersed by a storm; Lincoln was scarcely beyond the river ere all his militia ran home. The campaign to the southward ended with the raising of the siege of Savannah, which was, in every sense, highly honourable to British arms. Next to General Prevost praise and glory were due to Captain

Moncrieff, of the engineers, Captain Henry, of the navy, and Colonel Maitland.*

During nearly the whole of this year Washington had been very inactive, and very much dissatisfied with the conduct and temper of congress. The now exhausted state of a considerable part of the union, with the interruption of trade, and, in not a few places, the interruption of agriculture, must have made any great exertion exceedingly difficult; but it appears that the majority of congress considered that their business was done and finished by the French treaty, and that their independence could no longer be endangered by Great Britain, who would yield to her weakness and necessities. Most of these men sanguinely hoped that the last soldier and the last ship in America would be withdrawn in order to defend England from invasion. Washington, who, in his eagerness for more troops, may possibly have overrated the resources of the union and the power of congress, certainly took a more correct view of the strength of Great Britain; and he continued to represent that the battle was not over, that America had still much to fear, that the French navy was not equal to a prolonged contest with Great Britain, and that it would be very unwise to expect too much from France, or rely solely upon the politics and events of Europe. The leaders of the revolution had not gone thus far without splitting into parties and factions; and their contention was carried on, at times, with a violence and recklessness which greatly alarmed the commander-in-chief, and induced many persons to surmise that the whole fabric of independence would be undermined by it and brought to the ground. Most of the ministers or diplomatic agents of congress in Europe had quarrelled with one another, and had made a series of accusations and recriminations. Some of them were recalled, but this did not end the turmoil, as their conflicting causes were taken up by their respective friends in congress.

* Gordon.—Stedman.—Marshall.—Ramsay.—What took place at Savannah, By a British Officer present—Ann. Regist.

Tom Paine, the great promoter of independence—the unrivalled pamphleteer—the prophet and champion of liberty, as he had been styled three years before, was comparatively a poor and friendless man, and he was made a peace-offering or a scape-goat. His character, his poverty, the history of his life, became themes of declamation in an assembly whose interests or views he had so essentially served. Gouverneur Morris had been treated by the author of Common Sense with some contempt; but never in the most aristocratic House of Commons or in the most lordly House of Lords was a poor man of obscure origin treated with more haughtiness than in this democratic assembly was the Suffolk staymaker by the young New York lawyer. Morris's speech is a study for the believers in the doctrine of republican equality. Thomas Paine thought it proper or prudent to send in his resignation. Yet in less than two years we shall find congress again availing themselves of the services of this strange man. At the present moment Paine's retirement was very far from producing calm and union in the body politic: the animosity and bitterness of party grew and spread even under circumstances which seemed to call imperatively for unanimity; so that Washington found himself obliged to declare that friends and foes were combining to pull down the fabric they had been raising at the expense of so much time, blood, and treasure.* The storm had been augmented by the publication in a New York newspaper (Rivington's Royal Gazette) of an extract from a letter written by Mr. Laurens, the president of congress, to governor Huiston, of Georgia, which letter had been found among the governor's papers seized by the British invaders. In this strictly confidential letter the president accused no inconsiderable portion of congress of being devoid of integrity and patriotism. "Were I to unfold to you," said the president, "the scenes of venality, peculation, and fraud which I have discovered, the disclosure would astonish you: nor would you, sir, be less astonished were

* Washington Letters.

I by a detail to prove to you that he must be a pitiful rogue who, when detected or suspected, meets not with powerful advocates among those who, in the present corrupt time, ought to exert all their powers in defence and support of these friend-plundered, much-injured, and I was almost going to say sinking States." The authenticity of this letter was never for a moment doubted.* It was read everywhere, and failed nowhere in producing comment, doubt, and suspicions, which were strongest in the places where the people had been most harassed and plundered for the support of the armies of congress.

The hopes of that body were revived and their exertions diminished when Spain threw her sword into their scale; for they calculated that the Spanish fleet being joined to the French must inevitably prove too much for the British navy. Their hearts were rejoiced by the intelligence of the junction of the French and Spaniards; and it was not till late in the year that they fully ascertained the miserable failure of that grand armada. In other quarters, however, Spain had given some trouble to England. Soon after the court of Madrid announced their union with France, Don Bernardo Galvez, governor of Louisiana, who had been preparing beforehand, having formally recognised the independence of the United States, made an irruption with 2000 men into our colony of West Florida, which was defended by only 1600 men scattered over the whole country in different forts or posts. Ascending the course of the Mississippi, in one compact column, Don Bernardo, after a siege of nine days, reduced a British fort, garrisoned with 500 men, at the mouth of the Ibbeville. After this success, which was decisive of the campaign, the Spaniards proceeded up the river as far as the Natches, occupied all the forts and settlements which formed the western barrier of the province, and overran a fertile but very thinly peopled country 1200 miles in extent. The eastern part of the province, with the strong fort of Mobile, re-

* Even the one-sided enthusiastic Gordon says—"It was known by several to contain a strong mark of authenticity—the truth."

mained, however, untouched. At the same moment when Galvez began this campaign in Florida, the governor of Yutacan commenced hostilities against the British settlers and logwood-cutters on the Bay of Honduras, and plundered the principal establishment at St. George's Key. But in doing this the Spaniards got into a hornets' nest. The logwood-cutters, consisting chiefly of sailors and men of the most daring and enterprising spirit, retreated and kept together in an inaccessible place, until the governor of Jamaica (Dalling) despatched Captain Dalrymple with a small party of bold Irish volunteers to the Mosquito shore to convey to them a supply of arms, and to collect, if possible, a more considerable force for their assistance. At the same juncture Sir Peter Parker despatched the 'Porcupine' sloop-of-war to co-operate; and this sloop, having taken on board Captain Dalrymple and his party, presently made the Spaniards evacuate St. George's Key and all that part of the coast. The 'Porcupine' was presently joined by a small squadron under the command of the Honourable Captain John Luttrell, who had been cruising to intercept some rich Spanish register-ships, which had, however, escaped him, and taken refuge under the strong fortress of St. Fernando de Omoa. A very little consultation between Luttrell and Pakenham, the captain of the 'Porcupine,' Captain Dalrymple, and the chiefs of the British bay-men, led to the bold determination of proceeding immediately to the attack of the fort. They had no artillery that they could land and carry to the spot, but they thought the business might be done by surprise and assault, without any cannon. A motley force of logwood-cutters, sailors, soldiers, and volunteers, not exceeding all together 500 men, went to St. Fernando de Omoa, which had a garrison of 600 men, with plenty of great guns. The attempt at surprise failed; the garrison discovered the approach of the assailants; yet, nevertheless, the works were carried by escalade, the sailors climbing up their face with single ropes, and going on in spite of a hot fire. One hundred of the Spaniards escaped in the confusion of the assault, and the rest threw down their arms and were made pri-

soners of war. Sailors and soldiers, logwood-cutters and Irish volunteers, then made straight for the harbour, wherein the register-ships had sought refuge; but the Spaniards had removed the greater part of the treasure, which had been a temptation for the attack, and, perhaps, the occasion of some additional bravery, to a place of safety. This was a disappointment, but still there remained a galleon in the harbour, and an immense quantity of quicksilver; and these, with other objects that fell into the hands of the conquerors, were estimated at 3,000,000 of piastres.

Nearer home the valour of British seamen was tested in a very desperate action, remarkable in all its circumstances. The enemy they had to contend with was the famed John Paul, or, as he called himself, Paul Jones, a native of Scotland and the son of a gardener of Galloway. This adventurer, described by tradition as "a short, thick, little fellow, about five feet six inches in height, and of a dark swarthy complexion," had taken to the sea at a very early age; had acquired considerable nautical skill; had gone to America, made some money, and settled in Virginia in 1773. Upon the breaking out of the American war, he, like so many other natives of Britain of a higher condition, offered his services against his native country. Congress gave him a commission, under which he cruised among our West India islands, picking up many prizes, and showing very superior address and audacity. In short, he acquired the name of the best of all corsair or privateer captains. In the month of May, 1777, congress sent him to France, where he was appointed by Franklin and his brother commissioners to the command of a French-built ship under American colours. In the course of 1778 Paul Jones sailed upon a cruise to the coast of Britain, and picked up many prizes in places where the American flag was unknown. Sailing round the Land's End he ran along the western coast to Solway Frith, which washes the coast of Galloway, on which he was born. He knew that coast well, and the defenceless state of all its smaller ports. He made a descent at the mouth of the Dee, near to Kirkcud-

bright, and plundered the house of the Earl of Selkirk;* and he made another descent by night on the Cumberland coast, on the opposite side of the Frith, at the small town of Whitehaven, where he spiked the guns of the fort, and burnt one or two vessels. For some time he cruised up and down between the Solway and the Clyde, scaring the whole coast, where his name to this day is mentioned with horror; and then, returning to Brest with 200 prisoners, he boasted that with his single ship he had kept the north-western coast of England and southern coast of Scotland in a state of alarm. In the summer of the present year, 1779, he returned to cruise along our eastern coasts, no longer with a single ship, but with a squadron,† manned by French and Americans, and desperadoes from various other countries, tempted into the service by exaggerated accounts of the enormous amount of prize-money he had made. Some of that class of romance-writers who labour to confound fact and fiction have endeavoured to depict this John Paul, or Paul Jones, as an heroic misanthropist, or as an ardent republican: he was in truth nothing but a coarse and vulgar corsair, with money for his bait, with a perfect indifference to all other considerations, with a brute kind of courage, and with some sailor-skill—a ruffian who would have fought under the colours of the Dey of Algiers as readily as under those of his Most Christian Majesty or of congress. There are accounts which say he had taken his final leave of his own country in order to escape a final exit under the gallows-tree. In his present cruise he alarmed all the defenceless parts of the eastern coast from Flamborough Head to the Frith of Tay; but his great object was to intercept the Baltic trade, which was under the convoy of Captain Richard

* He carried off all the plate and other valuable articles. It is said that Paul and his father had formerly lived in the house, in Lord Selkirk's service.

† Gordon says—"The small squadron which the captain commanded in 1779 was fitted out at the expense of his most Christian majesty, who honoured him with a French commission."

Pearson, in the ship 'Serapis,' of 40 guns, and Captain Piercy, in the 'Countess of Scarborough,' an armed ship of 20 guns. This fleet had arrived safely off the Yorkshire coast, when the bailiff of the corporation of the town of Scarborough sent off to inform Captain Pearson that a flying squadron of enemy's ships had been seen the day before standing to the southward. About seven o'clock on the evening of the 23rd of September, Paul Jones, in the 'Bon Homme Richard,' a two-decker carrying 40 guns, engaged Captain Pearson in the 'Serapis' within musket-shot; and, after firing two or three broadsides, backed his topsails, dropped within pistol-shot on the 'Serapis's' quarter, and then filling again attempted to board. Captain Pearson repulsed the corsair in this attempt, and Jones sheered off; but, after one or two manœuvres, and more than one accident, the two ships, the 'Bon Homme Richard' and the 'Serapis,' dropped alongside of each other head and stern, and so close that the muzzles of the guns touched and grated. In this close contact the action continued with the greatest fury from half-past eight till half-past ten, during which time Jones, who had far more men, vainly attempted to board, and the 'Serapis' was set on fire ten or twelve times. Every time the fire was extinguished; and Captain Pearson had, on the whole, the best of the battle, when one of the frigates, after assisting in disabling the 'Countess of Scarborough,' came up to the assistance of the 'Bon Homme Richard,' and kept constantly sailing round and raking the 'Serapis' till almost every man on the quarter or main-decks was killed or wounded. The calamity was increased by the accidental ignition of a cartridge of powder near one of the lower-deck ports—the flames spread from cartridge to cartridge all the way aft, and blew up the whole of the officers and people that were quartered abaft the main-mast. After a desperate and last effort to board Paul Jones, Captain Pearson hauled down his colours. Two-thirds of his men were killed and wounded, and his main-mast went by the board just as he struck. But the 'Bon Homme Richard' was in a still more pitiful condition: her quarters and

counter on the lower deck were entirely driven in; the whole of her guns on that deck were dismounted; all her decks were strewed with killed and wounded; she had scarcely a fourth of her crew on their legs; she was on fire in two different places, and had seven feet of water in her hold. On the next day Paul Jones was obliged to quit her, and she sank at sea (it is said) with a great number of her wounded men on board. Captain Piercy, who, in his armed ship of 20 guns, had been closely engaged with a frigate of 32 guns, a 12-gun brig, and a cutter, was also obliged to strike; but his defence was equally brave, and the captors suffered most severely. The convoy were enabled to take shelter in the harbours on the coast, and they all escaped. In other naval actions which took place in the course of the year success was almost invariably in favour of the British. The East India Company built at their own expense, and presented to government, three fine 74-gun ships, and offered bounty-money for raising 6000 seamen.

Parliament assembled on the 25th of November. Lord North was weakened in the Commons by the elevation of Thurlow to the chancellorship and the House of Peers. Some changes had been made in the cabinet which were not at all calculated to increase the ministerial strength; and the whole Bedford party had for some time shown strong symptoms of falling off from Lord North. In his opening speech the king called upon the two Houses to exert all their efforts, along with him, in defence of the country, attacked by an unjust and unprovoked war, and contending with one of the most dangerous confederacies ever formed against the crown and people of Great Britain.

Ireland being still in an uneasy state, Lord North, on the 13th of December, brought forward a bill granting further commercial privileges to that country. The bill was carried, many members now voting for it who had voted against such concessions only the year before. It happened fortunately for both countries that the majority of the Irish parliament, in spite of some stirring harangues intended to prove that the concession was not

large enough, and had merely been granted in dread of the bayonets of associated Irishmen, chose to consider the scheme as satisfactory, to receive the acts as a boon, and to express great loyalty and satisfaction.

The Duke of Richmond, in consideration of the enormous expenses of the last few years, and the manifold distresses and difficulties of the country, proposed an address for a notable reduction of the civil list; and, on the 15th of December, Burke first opened that scheme of public economy which afterwards gained him so much celebrity, and did so little good to the country.

A.D. 1780.—Encouraged by the getting up of a great many petitions, in boroughs, great cities, and counties, all praying for the abolition of sinecures, unmerited pensions, &c., Burke persevered in his plan of reform; and after the most violent and personal debates this parliament had yet seen, and the spending of a great deal of time, which might have been far more profitably employed, it was carried that the Board of Trade, which cost 6000*l.* a-year, and a few sinecures and court places, which altogether, did not cost the country much more, should be abolished. Except incidentally, the affairs of America were not debated at any great length during this session; but, on the 5th of May, General Conway brought in a bill for restoring peace to the colonies. This plan pleased neither ministers nor Opposition—it was nugatory like every other project of reconciliation that had preceded it—and it was got rid of, without a direct negative, by passing to the order of the day.

The House began to be very thinly attended, and the debates to be but languid, when the proceedings of a madman, and an outbreak of popular fanaticism, called many members back from the country, and gave a new animation to the great centre of our politics. The great combustion had begun more than a year ago, in the country beyond Tweed. The Scots took it into their heads that their kirk was endangered by indulgencies granted to the Roman Catholics in the Act of 1778. A preacher of Edinburgh sounded the alarm in a pamphlet which was published at the expense of a society calling itself a

"Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge." The precious composition was industriously circulated in every city, town, and village in the Lowlands of Scotland; and other pamphlets, as hot as the penal fires of Smithfield, were printed and distributed. Not a few of the most popular preachers took up the cry that the kirk was in danger. The synod of Glasgow denounced the curse of God and the hatred and vengeance of the people against all such as should attempt to revise in Scotland the old sharp statutes against Papists. On the night of the 29th of January, 1779, many copies of the following letter were dropped in the streets, lanes, and odourous wynds and closes of Edinburgh:—"Men and brethren, whoever shall find this letter will take it as a warning to meet at Leith Wynd, on Wednesday next, in the evening, to pull down that pillar of Popery lately erected there. [Signed] A PROTESTANT. P.S. Please to read this carefully, keep it clean, and drop it somewhere else. For King and Country.—UNITY." The summons was obeyed. At the time appointed all the rabble of that ancient city assembled at "the pillar of Popery," which was the habitation of a Catholic priest with a chapel attached to it. Their first operation was to break all the windows; but they soon broke open the doors. The magistrates came to the spot, but they could not prevent the mob from continuing their work of destruction—the furniture and everything in the house was demolished, and then they set fire to the house itself. On the following morning a party of the same champions of Christianity repaired to another Catholic chapel situate in Black Friars Wynd, and there they broke everything to pieces, and either destroyed as barbarians, or carried off as thieves, a valuable collection of books. This over, they paraded through the streets, breaking the windows of every house that harboured or was supposed to harbour a Papist or a friend to Papists. In the evening they assembled in still greater numbers with the laudable intention of knocking down the house of Principal Robertson, whose labours as an historian had gained for him a European reputation, and whose private virtues

had endeared him to all who knew him. Fortunately for that amiable author and divine a party of dragoons arrived in time to save his house and library; and through this timely arrival, and the assurances of the magistrates that all thoughts of bringing in the bill were laid aside in London, the rabble dispersed and went quietly home.* It was shortly after these disgraceful riots that Paul Jones appeared off Scotland, and the people of Galloway and other parts of the coast, held in dread and plundered by that adventurer, applied to government for arms, ammunition, &c., to repel the attacks. Government declined complying with the demand, and were, on that account, bitterly censured by the Opposition. Their implied excuse was, that it was not safe to put arms into the hands of men who might, in the fury of their intolerance, make a very bad use of them. Hence the coasts were scourged by a handful of marauders, the Scottish shipping captured, and their fisheries interrupted. The whole matter was too important to escape the notice of parliament. Wilkes, in the House of Commons, asked the lord-advocate (Dundas) whether it was intended to keep a promise made to pass a bill for the relief of the Catholics in Scotland? Dundas replied, that, in consequence of the popular violence in all parts of Scotland, it had been agreed to defer any bill of that kind until popular prejudices should have somewhat subsided. Shortly after Burke presented a petition from the Catholics of Edinburgh for compensation for the damages they had sustained, and for future security. Charles Fox, in urging the House to attend to the petition broadly announced the doctrines of complete religious toleration, maintaining that, undeterred by broils and paltry insurrections, parliament ought to repeal the penal laws *in toto*. By this time the flame of fanaticism had been kindled in England also; and eighty-five Christian corresponding societies, affiliated to that of

* Annual Register.—Narrative of the late Riots in Edinburgh.—Sketches of Popular Tumults, illustrative of the Evils of Social Ignorance.

Edinburgh, were formed in different parts of the country. Lord George Gordon (brother to the Duke of Gordon), who had thrown his straw and rubbish into the fire in Scotland, to kindle the blaze, was chief superintendent of the conflagration in England. This noble lord, who was in his twenty-ninth year, had been sitting for some time in the House of Commons, where he was chiefly known by his eccentric habits, strange slovenly dress, and a progressive insanity, which sometimes looked like oratorical inspiration. The fanatics and madmen of England chose this noble Scots madman for their president, and he undertook to raise hand and voice in parliament against the pope, the devil, and Sir George Saville, and all the monstrous men who thought it wrong to imitate the intolerance of the ancient religion. He had accustomed himself for some time to speak of the mighty power of the Protestant Association, and of coming down to the House backed by 150,000 men, and of presenting petitions to the king, to the Prince of Wales, to both Houses of Parliament, with far more and infinitely better signatures than such documents had ever borne. On one occasion he said in the House that he would present a petition long enough to reach from the Speaker's chair to the centre window at Whitehall—out of which Charles I. had walked to his execution.* The House laughed at him, and apprehended no danger from his threats. He had presented several anti-Catholic petitions from the county of Kent, when he thought proper to make a loud appeal to the fanatics of London, in order to procure a longer and stronger petition from them. Aided by the heads of the Protestant Association he canvassed the capital and the neighbourhood; and, as president and champion, he advertised in the newspapers for signatures, and for a hearty concurrence against Popery and a papistically inclined government. As Lord George Gordon was very poor, other less noble fanatics furnished funds to support the necessary expenses. His inflammatory harangues at the meetings of the Protestant Associ-

* Wilkes's Letters.

ation were printed, published, and scattered far and wide. He told all good Protestants that for his part he would run all hazards, and that if they were too lukewarm to run all hazards with him they must look out for another president and leader—that, in presenting to the House of Commons a proper Protestant petition, he expected to be backed by a host of good Christians—that if he was attended by less than 20,000 men he would not present the petition at all—and then, like a quartermaster-general of the Protestant world, he appointed the places where they should assemble on the great day, and the lines of march they should pursue in order to concentrate in front of the Houses of Parliament. St. George's Fields was to be the chief starting-place, and every man was to wear a blue cockade. On the 26th of May he had given notice in the House that he meant to present a petition, and to come down to the House with all those who had signed it. On the appointed day—the 2nd of June—60,000, or, according to some accounts, 100,000, petitioners and associators, met in St. George's Fields, and arranged themselves in four separate bodies, one of which was entirely composed of Scotsmen. After a stirring harangue from Lord George, the several columns struck off by different roads for Westminster, the largest one marching through Newington Butts and the Borough to London Bridge, and thence through the heart of the City, walking six a-breast, and being preceded by a very tall Protestant, who carried on his head the anti-Popery petition, said to be signed by 120,000 names and *marks* made by such enlightened Protestants as could not write. The columns, as appointed, concentrated near the Houses of Parliament, and filled and blocked up all the streets and avenues leading to them. The honest madmen were by this time joined by all the knaves and cut-purses of London; and, while the members of the Protestant Association shouted "No Popery! No Popery!" the members of the fraternity of thieves picked pockets, and did all they could to create a profitable riot.

As the peers and the members of the House of Commons came down they were compelled to put on blue

cockades, and to join the cry of "No Popery!" But many of them were not let off so easily. The Archbishop of York and sundry bishops, the Duke of Northumberland and various temporal peers, were treated with great indignity; the Bishop of Lichfield had his gown torn from his back; the Bishop of Lincoln (brother of Lord Chancellor Thurlow), after having his carriage demolished, fled into a house, and, being pursued (though perhaps only by his own fears), went out of the garret-window (some said disguised as a woman) and over the roof into another house; Lord Stormont and Lord Boston fell into the hands of the mob and were most rudely handled. At this very moment, the Duke of Richmond, in the Lords, was introducing a motion for annual parliaments, and something very like universal suffrage. The universal rabble without threatened to rush into the House; but the door-keepers shut them out. A motion was made by Lord Townshend that the peers should issue forth in a body to rescue their brethren outside; but thereupon there arose a debate, whether the mace should go with them or not; and it was determined in the negative, for fear the mace should be broken or stolen, and should never return. Next their lordships indulged in accusations and recriminations: the Opposition charged the ministers with being the original cause of all this mischief, by their scandalous and cowardly concessions to the No-Popery rioters in Scotland, and called them loudly to account for not having provided for the present evil, of which so much previous notice had been given. Lord Hillsborough replied that orders had been given on the preceding day for the attendance of the magistrates. One of the magistrates, being called to their lordships' bar, declared that he had been able to collect only a very few constables, and that no civil force could put down a mob so immense and so determined. Yet Lord Shelburne and other oppositionists violently reprobated a suggestion to call out the military to act under the magistrates. Nothing was done to stop the progress of the multitude; and the peers retired one by one, until the House was left with no one

in it except Lord Mansfield and a few servants. In the House of Commons there was far more excitement and violence, for the noble madman went in as a member to present the petition, while his followers outside the House tore the clothes from the backs of several gentlemen who were known to have voted for Sir George Saville's bill, and kept up a deafening and incessant roar of "Repeal the bill! Repeal!" "No Popery! No Popery!" "Lord George Gordon! Lord George!" And when Lord George had been for some short time within the House, they began to thunder at the doors and to threaten to break them open. Several members threatened him with instant death if the sanctity of the House should thus be violated by the mob he had collected; and it is said that Mr. Henry Herbert, afterwards Earl of Carnarvon, followed Lord George closely with that avowed determination, and that General Murray, brother to the Duke of Athol, and a relation of Lord George, held his sword ready to pass it through the madman on the first irruption of the mob.* When something like order was restored, Lord George moved for bringing up and *immediately* considering the petition; and he was seconded by Alderman Bull. The first proposition was granted as a matter of course; but the second was instantly met by an amendment, to put off the consideration of the petition for four days. During the debate Lord George went more than once into the lobby to harangue the mob, and to encourage them to persevere, inasmuch as terror would be sure to induce the king and ministers to grant the prayer of the petition. He also told the mob what members were speaking against the petition, and gave a false account of what they had said or were saying. When he returned into the House Colonel Holroyd took hold of his lordship, saying that he had hitherto imputed his conduct to madness, but now found there was more of malice than of madness in it, and that if he repeated such proceedings he would immediately move for his commitment to New-

* Sir N. Wraxall, Memoirs.

gate. His lordship went no more into the lobby, but addressed the mob from the top of the gallery stairs. The frouzy multitude, who said they were assembled for the honour of God, continued to make "a prodigious smell"* in the lobby, and a most fiendish uproar, and to threaten destruction to all who opposed their will and the Protestant interest. But, undeterred by these menaces, the House adopted the amendment; and only six men were bigots or cowards enough to vote with Lord George. Their names and their disgrace should always be recorded: they were—Alderman Bull, Lord Verney, Sir Philip Jennings Clerke, Sir Michael le Fleming, Sir James Lowther, Sir Joseph Mawbey, Mr. Polhill, and Mr. Tollemache. On the other side were 192 members. About nine o'clock in the evening, and not before, Mr. Addington, an active Middlesex magistrate, arrived in Palace-yard with a party of horse and foot guards, who were hissed and hooted by the mob. When, however, Addington addressed them, told them he would order the soldiers away if they would promise to be quiet, and actually sent off the cavalry at a hand-gallop, the mob gave him three cheers, and immediately began to disperse. The House then adjourned. As the associated Protestants returned to their homes, one division of them passed by the chapel of the Bavarian Ambassador in Warwick-Street, Golden Square, broke it open, destroyed what was in it, and set fire to the building; another body did the same by the chapel of the Sardinian Ambassador in Duke-Street, Lincoln's Inn Fields. Although the following day was a Saturday the Lords met; but the Commons did not, having adjourned till Tuesday, the 6th. Lord Bathurst, now lord-president, who had been rudely used and kicked by the mob on the Friday, moved an address praying his majesty to give immediate orders for prosecuting, in the most effectual manner, the authors, abetters, and instruments of the outrages committed on the preceding day, both in the vicinity of the Houses of Parliament

* Sir J. Lowther's examination.

and upon the houses and chapels of several of the foreign ministers. Everything in London and Westminster seemed perfectly quiet; and their lordships probably conceived that all danger was over. But, whatever was their impression, the Duke of Richmond and Lord Shelburne made the subject a party matter, and expressed sentiments calculated to rekindle rather than to quench the fanatic fire out of doors. Richmond criticised the religious part of the Quebec Act; and Shelburne said that the Catholics had received more than a Protestant government ought to have given. Lord Bathurst's motion was, however, agreed to; and, after despatching some other business, the House adjourned till the 6th. No lord, spiritual or temporal, received any molestation. But late that night, when men had got their weekly pay and their Saturday's drink, a mob assembled in Moorfields and did some mischief to the poor Catholics living in that nighbourhood. On Sunday morning troops were sent to the spot, but they had strict orders not to fire; and their efforts to seize the ringleaders were badly seconded by the civic authorities, who, for the most part, either partook in the prevailing fanaticism or were afraid of provoking the fanatics. A Popish chapel and several houses occupied by Catholics were completely destroyed; and, while the fanatics were demolishing altars and crosses, the thieves picked pockets, and the more decent kind of zealots looked on. Conspicuous among the fools or cowards that permitted the growth and extension of these disgraceful excesses was the lord mayor—one Kennet—who did nothing himself, and permitted nothing to be done by others. A single charge by one troop of horse, a few broken heads, would, at this stage of the business, have scattered the mob and prevented further mischief. On the following morning, Monday, June the 5th, a privy council was held at St. James's; but nothing was done except the issuing of a proclamation offering a reward of 500*l.* for the discovery of those persons who had been concerned in demolishing and setting fire to the Sardinian and Bavarian chapels. In the course of the morning some rioters who had been

apprehended were fully committed to Newgate by the magistrates. At an early hour in the morning the house of Sir George Saville in Leicester-fields was attacked and stripped; part of the furniture was burned before the door, a more valuable portion was carried off by the thieves, and fire was set to the building. A column of the rioters proceeded to the house of Lord George Gordon in Welbeck Street, and regaled his lordship with a bonfire made of materials brought from Catholic houses and chapels in Moorfields. Another party went to Virginia Lane, Wapping, and a third to Nightingale Lane, East Smithfield, where they severally destroyed the Catholic chapels, and committed other outrages. The whole of that night saw the great capital completely in the hands of the mob. On Tuesday, the 6th, about two hundred members of the House of Commons had the courage to attend their parliamentary duty notwithstanding the threats of the crowd through which they had to pass. Some of the Lords also met. Lord Sandwich, in attempting to reach the House, was dragged out of his carriage, which was broken to pieces, and was then almost torn to pieces himself. Mr. Hyde, a justice of the peace, hastened to his rescue with a small party of light horse, and found his lordship at the end of Parliament Street, in the hands of the mob, and severely wounded on the head. When Justice Hyde had rescued Lord Sandwich, he attempted to disperse the mob by riding among them; but the light horse did not even strike with the flats of their sabres. As the crowd was giving way a fellow hoisted a flag, and called out, "To Hyde's house, a-hoy!" That gentleman lived in St. Martin's Street; and in a very short time his house was pulled down. Lord George Gordon, who appears to have been alarmed at the effects of his own madness, had issued a hand-bill, in the name of the Protestant Association, to disavow the riots, and had gone down to the House of Commons with the blue cockade in his hat. Colonel Herbert bade him take off that badge of sedition, and threatened to do it himself if he refused. Lord George instantly obeyed, and put the cockade in

his pocket. In the course of the debates Burke, Sir George Saville, and other members of opposition left off opposing ministers, and strongly recommended unanimity and defensive associations. Burke insisted that in a moment of such danger the ministers' hands ought to be strengthened, and other political differences forgotten; but his friend Fox still clung to party feeling, refusing to support government, and proclaiming that society and its laws were dissolved by the vices and monstrous follies of the administration. At this moment dreadful news arrived from the City, and, after some talk, which came to nothing, about expelling Lord George and committing him to the Tower, the House adjourned in haste and confusion. At a much earlier hour the House of Lords, without entering upon any business, had adjourned till the 19th.*

The mob, about six o'clock in the evening, marched down Holborn to Newgate, declaring that they would release their brother rioters. When they arrived at the doors of the prison they demanded their comrades, and when the keeper, Mr. Akerman, refused, they began to break the windows of his house, and to batter the gates of the prison with sledge-hammers and pickaxes. But, soon tiring of this hard work, they collected firebrands and whatever combustibles they could find, and flung them into the keeper's dwelling-house. The flames spread rapidly, and the yell of the mob without was joined by the maddening cries of the felons within, agitated in different ways by the hope of escape and liberty, and the dread of being burned to death. The fire spread from the keeper's house to the chapel, and thence to some doors and passages leading into the wards and cells. Part of the mob then rushed in, showing a familiar acquaintance with all the intricacies of the prison, which, no doubt, had been the temporary habitation of many of them, and still held their friends or kind. Their activity was amazing; they dragged out the prisoners by the hair of their head, by the legs or arms

* Ann. Regist.

whatever part they could lay hold of; and it appears that of three hundred and more delinquents, four of whom were under sentence of death and ordered for execution on the Thursday following, not one perished in that rapid and tremendous conflagration. In the space of a few hours nothing was left of the strongest and most durable prison in England, which had been recently rebuilt at the cost of 140,000*l.*, except some bare stone walls too thick and strong to yield to the force of fire. On the same Tuesday evening the new prison at Clerkenwell was broken open, and all the felons and other prisoners there were turned loose upon society. The decent fools, the real members of the Protestant Association, had retired before this, and were now wringing their hands at the mischief they had made: the rioters were composed of the lowest rabble of London and its populous neighbourhood, who cared more for a pot of beer or a glass of gin than for the whole Protestant interest; but when these fellows were joined by all the highwaymen and footpads, cut-purses, and professional housebreakers—by all the inmates of all the prisons—their excesses became far more frightful. As a proper object of their spite the felons proceeded to the house of Sir John Fielding, the active police magistrate, who had committed many of them to the cells from which they had escaped, and they destroyed or stole furniture, books, papers, and everything in it. At about twelve o'clock at night another desperate gang attacked the house of Lord Mansfield, the venerable lord chief justice, in Bloomsbury Square. Having broken down the doors and windows, they flung the superb furniture into the square, where great fires were kindled to destroy it. They then proceeded to his lordship's library—rich in other books besides those of law—and they destroyed many thousand volumes, together with many valuable manuscripts, papers, and deeds. The rich wardrobe of wearing apparel and some very fine pictures they burned; but the wine in the cellar they drank till they were raving mad. Lord and Lady Mansfield made their escape through a back door, a few

minutes before the rioters broke in, and they were conducted by a gentleman, who, returning to Bloomsbury Square, when nearly all the mischief was done, found that a detachment of foot guards had at last arrived on the spot. He requested the officer in command to enter the house with his men; the officer replied that the justices of the peace had all run away, and that, consequently, it was impossible for the military to act.

The scenes which took place on the following day, Wednesday, the 7th of June, were still more dreadful. All the shops were shut, and bits of blue silk, by way of flags, were hung out at most houses, with the words "No Popery" chalked on the doors and window-shutters, in the view of deprecating the fury of the sovereign mob, who now, however, plundered and ill-treated all classes, only giving the Catholics the preference.* Fellows armed with iron bars, torn from the railing in front of Lord Mansfield's house, went through the town extorting money from all they met, and shouting, "No Popery!" One fellow in particular, who was mounted on horseback (and who was probably a highwayman by profession), refused to take anything but gold. A party on their way to burn Lord Mansfield's villa at Caen Wood, Highgate, were met and turned back by a detachment of cavalry. The King's Bench Prison, the New Gaol, the Borough Clink, the Surrey Bridewell, the Fleet, were all burned to-day, and not a prison was left standing in London, except the Poultry Compter. Two attacks were made on the Bank of England, but the assailants were repulsed by a strong body of soldiers who had now orders to use their arms, and who at this particular point killed and wounded a great many. The Mansion House, the British Museum, the Royal Exchange, and the Tower, were all set down in written lists, circulated

* It was no time for laughter; but ludicrous circumst[illegible] were not wanting. The poor foreign *Jews* in Houndsd[illegible] chalked in large letters on their doors, "This house is a [illegible] Protestant." An Italian clown—a precursor of the g[illegible] Joseph Grimaldi—chalked on *his* door, "No religion."

among the mob, for attack and destruction. But by this time there were 25,000 men, between regulars and militia, in London; and the king taking upon himself, or rather forcing upon them a responsibility which ministers were evidently afraid of, had issued a proclamation authorising the military to act where necessary, although the magistrates should not attend to read the Riot Act. Some of the first to act were a party of militia who had marched twenty-five miles during the day, and who proceeded under the command of Colonel Holroyd, from Lincoln's Inn Fields into Holborn, which was then the great centre of mischief. A Mr. Langdale, who lived at Holborn Bridge, was doubly exposed as a Catholic and as a great distiller; his extensive premises were broken open in the evening, and everything was destroyed except the gin and other intoxicating spirits which were drunk by the rioters, many of whom literally drank themselves dead. In one place the kennel of the street ran down with these ardent spirits, and men, women, and children were seen on their knees drinking them as they flowed. Fire was set to the distillery and warehouse, and many, too drunk to move, perished in the flames they had kindled. Mr. Langdale's loss was estimated at nearly 100,000*l.* The fire, according to an eye-witness, mounted in the air like the irruption of a volcano.* Six-and-thirty great fires were blazing in different quarters of the town, and nothing but the serenity of the night saved London from destruction. In streets where there were no fires, numbers of persons were seen removing their goods and effects at midnight, and a universal panic prevailed, as no man could know how long the merciful wind would be still, or to what point the mob would next carry their fury. The tremendous roar of the countless rabble was heard at one instant, and at the next the dreadful report of soldiers' muskets as if firing in platoons; and in various places everything seemed to betoken universal anarchy and approaching desolation. Sleep and rest were things not

* Wraxall.

thought of: the streets were swarming with people, and uproar, confusion, and terror reigned in every part.* Some of the respectable inhabitants had, however, recovered from their strange consternation, and had formed themselves into armed associations, which acted with the regular troops and the militia. In some few instances, where the rabble had procured arms, the fire of the troops was returned; but nothing like a determined resistance was made anywhere. A detachment of the Guards soon beat them from Blackfriars Bridge, where, with an evident eye to plunder, they had attacked and set fire to the toll-gates; several of them were killed at this point by musketry, and others were thrown, or in their panic threw themselves, over the bridge into the Thames. The Fleet prison was set fire to in the course of the night; but the fire was not extinguished, nor was the mob in that quarter dispersed, until the following morning, when the troops discharged their muskets right into the crowd. Among those who were shot here was a young chimney-sweeper, who had forty guineas in his pocket! In the course of this day—Thursday, the 8th of June—various encounters took place, attended with numerous wounds and no inconsiderable loss of life; but before night a mournful tranquillity was restored. The immense rabble, which had so recently appeared irresistible, was scattered like chaff before the wind; and those who, upon the appearance of such a numerous banditti, wondered whence they came, now expressed as much wonder whither they could be gone. The return of killed made to Lord Amherst, the commander-in-chief, amounted to 210, of wounded to 248; but this account was certainly defective, as many of the dead and wounded were removed by their friends; and no list

* A Plain and Succinct Narrative of the late Riot. This work bears the name of William Vincent, but was r written by Thomas Holcroft, the well-known novelist dramatist, author of the 'Road to Ruin,' &c., and of on the most interesting fragments of autobiography that proceeded from the pen of man.

could be taken of those who had perished in the fires or by the abuse of unrectified spirits.

The House of Commons met on the following day, Friday, the 9th; but, although the riot was entirely quelled, the House declined entering upon business, as Westminster was thronged with troops, and as the whole capital had the appearance of being under martial law; and they adjourned till the 19th, the day fixed by the Lords. The metropolis, in fact, resembled in many places a city recently stormed and sacked; all business was at an end—the Royal Exchange, and other public buildings, were occupied by the troops—the shops were all shut up—the streets were silent and empty, except where firemen were labouring to extinguish the smouldering fires. On Saturday, the 10th, Lord George Gordon was apprehended upon a warrant from the secretary of state, and after a short examination before several lords of the privy council, in which he is said to have behaved like a driveller and a coward, he was committed to the Tower on a charge of high treason.

On the 19th of June, when both Houses reassembled, the king delivered a long speech from the throne to explain and justify the strong measures which had been adopted, and which, if they had been adopted on Saturday night or Sunday morning, instead of on Thursday, would infallibly have stopped the riot with far less cost of human life. Wilkes, who was now chamberlain of the City, and who had behaved with great spirit and judgment during the riots, vehemently attacked a petition from the City which had been brought up by alderman Sawbridge; and he also reprobated the conduct of the lord mayor and alderman Bull, declaring (and with perfect truth) that if the chief magistrate had done his duty, the riot would have been suppressed in its beginning at Moorfields. But the lord mayor, who was afterwards prosecuted by the attorney-general for his negligence, and convicted, had done worse than nothing: and alderman Bull, an intolerant bigot himself, had permitted the constables of his ward to wear the blue cockades of the Protestant Association, and had paraded

through the streets at the very height of the riot linked arm in arm with Lord George Gordon. Several of the zealots in the House spoke in favour of the petitions, but not one of them had the face to move for the repeal of the bill complained of. Alderman Bull and Sir Joseph Mawbey were the chief speakers on the side of intolerance; but Lord North, Lord Beauchamp, Sir George Saville, Wilkes, Burke, and Fox spoke for the first time all on the same side, and supported the doctrine of toleration on grounds much larger than those on which Sir George Saville had framed his bill. Burke declared his detestation of everything like persecution and intolerance, and moved five resolutions in favour of freedom of conscience and in reprobation of the late disgraceful excesses, which had begun in bigotry and ended in a sink of all the vices that disgrace humanity. These resolutions were all agreed to.

In the course of the month of July the vengeance of the laws fell upon the rioters: fifty-nine were capitally convicted, more than twenty were executed, and the rest were transported for life. The trial of Lord George Gordon was delayed till the month of January, 1781, when it appeared to the jury that his case did not amount to high treason, and he was acquitted. He was ably defended by Mr. Kenyon and Mr. Erskine; but the best excuse he had to plead was the fact of his insanity. Of this he soon after gave many indubitable proofs, his last and strangest freak of all being *to turn Jew.*

We proceed to the mixed and complicated story of war and foreign policy. As the Spaniards persevered in their siege of Gibraltar, and as their treaty with the Barbary States stopped the supplies of provisions, the garrison began to feel the approaches of want, and it became necessary to send out supplies from Engl Sir George Rodney, who had recently been appointe the chief naval command in the West Indies, was orde on his way thither to relieve Gibraltar, which blockaded by sea as well as by land. Rodney had a squadron, and more good fortune than had of attended our navy. On the 8th of January, when

had only been a few days at sea, he fell in with a rich Spanish convoy going from St. Sebastian to Cadiz, and consisting of fifteen sail of merchantmen, a fine new 64, four frigates, and two other armed vessels, every one of which was taken. The greater part of these vessels were laden with wheat, flour, and other provisions, much wanted by the garrison of Gibraltar:—these he took with him, sending the rest to England. On the 16th of January, being off Cape St. Vincent, he fell in with a Spanish fleet of eleven ships of the line under Don Juan de Langara, who had fancied he would be strong enough to intercept the supplies which he knew the English were sending to Gibraltar. But when the Spaniard discovered that Rodney was far superior in force, he attempted to escape. He was favoured by a rough gale, a terrible sea, and a dangerous coast; but Rodney, with great daring and still more ability, got between him and the shore, changing the signal for a line of battle abreast to that for a general chace, with orders to engage as the ships came up by rotation. The headmost ships came up with the Spaniards about four o'clock in the evening, and began the engagement with fury. Night soon fell, and it was a dark one;—the tempest increased, and the shore under the lee was one dreaded by sailors, being the shoal of St. Lucar. Nevertheless, the action was continued, and the Spaniards, unable to avoid a close engagement, fought for a long time with the greatest bravery. Rather early in the action the 'San Domingo,' of 70 guns and 600 men, blew up, and nearly involved in her ruin the English ship with which she was engaged. It was two hours after midnight before the battle was over. The Spanish admiral's ship of 80 guns was taken, and three other ships of the line also struck to Rodney, and were carried safely into port. Two other 70-gun ships ran upon the breakers and were totally lost, and of the whole Spanish fleet only four ships escaped into Cadiz. From this terrible blow the Spanish navy did not recover during the war. Rodney proceeded triumphantly to the relief of Gibraltar, and after lying there for some weeks, and sending up the Mediterranean sup-

plies for our garrison at Port Mahon, made the best of his way to the West Indies with a part of the fleet, while the other ships, under the command of Admiral Digby, returned to the Channel. On his way home Digby captured a French ship of the line, and two or three vessels laden with military stores. The battle of St. Vincent raised the spirit of the country; but it was soon succeeded by a very serious loss. Florida Blanca, the Spanish minister, was apprised by his spies in England that the united fleets of East and West Indiamen were about to sail under a very weak escort; and he detached Admirals Cordova and Gaston, with every ship he could spare, to intercept these fleets at their point of separation off the Azores. So successful was this operation that scarcely a vessel escaped except two English ships of war that were giving convoy.

There was now manifested, in nearly every country in Europe, a decided intention of overthrowing, along with our maritime power, the whole code of laws which we had established for the regulation of maritime affairs in times of war. The Spanish cabinet claimed the merit of being parent to the system of "Armed Neutrality;" and, though that idea had long before presented itself to the minds of various Continental statesmen, it must be admitted that Florida Blanca was now most active in recommending it, and putting it in actual operation. In consequence of the large shipments of ammunition and other materials of war made to the revolted American colonies by neutral and, *professedly*, friendly powers, and more particularly by the Dutch, England had from the beginning of the war exercised the right she claimed of stopping and searching neutral vessels at sea. She had also acted upon another established principle—established at least by her own Admiralty courts—that a neutral flag co not cover or protect the cargoes, goods, or property subjects of a state with which she was at war. He she had involved herself in many quarrels with neu powers, who pretended that a neutral flag ought to exe the ship from search or detention, and cover whatso cargo or property was embarked in her. The r

violent quarrel was with the Dutch, who had certainly infringed the law of nations, and pursued a line of conduct wholly incompatible with security. They not only permitted the exportation to America of articles contraband of war, but they also gave open encouragement to the American privateers, which sold in the Dutch West India islands the English prizes they made.

Having already enemies enough on their hands, Lord North's government tried the effects of gentle remonstrance and friendly negotiation; but France wanted to draw Holland into the league, and the French party in the States-General proved stronger than the party friendly to England or to peace. At this juncture, Catherine, the empress of Russia, forgetting that it was owing only to the friendship and assistance of England that she had been enabled to create a navy, entered, with her usual warmth, into the project for abridging our naval power; and proposed drawing up a maritime code of her own, for the rule and benefit of all trading neutral nations. The basis of this code was to be the principle that "Free bottoms make free goods," or, that neutral states were to carry on commerce with belligerent powers, and even to convey from one port to another of a belligerent power all goods whatsoever, except what could be deemed contraband in consequence of previous treaties. But before Catherine put forth her Manifesto in favour of the Armed Neutrality, or, on the 1st of January, 1780, the Dutch Admiral, Count Beyland, fired upon some boats which Commodore Fielding sent to search ships under his convoy, poured a broadside into Fielding's flag-ship, and then, upon receiving a return of the ugly compliment, struck his colours. The English commodore seized seven of the Dutch vessels under convoy, which were crammed with military and naval stores for the use of the French. In reply to the remonstrances of the Dutch ambassador the British cabinet stated, that as the Dutch not only refused to England the aid they were bound to give, but also continued to assist the enemy with naval stores, they could no longer expect the benefits of friendship and alliance. They were also told, that if the House of

Bourbon succeeded in their present endeavours, the ruin of Holland and of all the United Provinces would speedily follow the ruin of Great Britain. But by Russia, Prussia, and other neutral powers the affair with Count Beyland was held to be a violent and unwarrantable aggression that justified and called for an immediate concert among nations; and, backed by Frederick the Great of Prussia, by Sweden, and by Denmark, and eager for the glory of giving maritime laws to Europe, Catherine, on the 26th of February, published her Manifesto. Then followed an interchange of angry manifestos between London and the Hague; but ambassadors were not, as yet, recalled. In the course of the summer Denmark and Sweden joined the Armed Neutrality, and Prussia was, rather reluctantly, included in that league. Frederick endeavoured to engage Catherine in a treaty to guarantee the possessions of the Dutch in every part of the globe in case England should declare war against them. The tzarina shrank from this proposition; but it became, nevertheless, certain that Holland would soon be included, not merely in the Armed Neutrality, but among the open enemies of England and close allies of the United States of America. If the great Frederick had been able to control the personal caprices of the Empress Catherine, there would have been a general war or crusade against England. In America the British army had, for once, attempted an active winter campaign. Sir Henry Clinton sailed away from New York for South Carolina, with 5000 men, in the last days of December, 1779. The voyage was long, tempestuous, and unfortunate. A ship foundered with all the heavy siege-artillery on board; other vessels, with troops and stores, were lost; and it was not until the 29th of March that Clinton got to Charlestown Neck. Charlestown, wherein was the Congress general, Lincolnt, in great force, was imm diately invested; every attempt made to relieve t place was defeated, chiefly by the cavalry corps Colonel Tarleton; and, on the 12th of May, Linc surrendered on Clinton's conditions.

The British loss during the siege amounted only

76 killed and 189 wounded. The besieged, who had made on the whole but a spiritless defence, lost about an equal number. But the prisoners presented a very imposing total: there were the deputy-governor, half the members of the council of the province, seven generals, a commodore, three battalions of artillery, and 5000 men; to which remain to be added about 1000 American and French seamen. Nearly 400 pieces of ordnance were taken, and the whole naval force collected there was either captured or destroyed. The blow completely paralyzed all the southern states, and carried doubt and dismay to every part of the union. Congress had expected assistance from the Spaniards in Florida, and assistance from the French fleet in the West Indies; but these allies were too much occupied with schemes of conquest for themselves to bestow much thought on Charlestown.

Three expeditions were now undertaken with the object of clearing the country of all the remaining forces of congress—the first and most considerable, under Lord Cornwallis, towards the frontiers of North Carolina; the second to the district called Ninety-Six, on the south-west side of the river Santee; and the third up the Savannah River, towards Augusta, where Lincoln had left a garrison. Lord Cornwallis had not gone far when he received intelligence that Colonel Buford, who had arrived too late to be able to throw succours into Charlestown, had taken post on the banks of the Santee, with a considerable body of horse and foot. His lordship instantly detached the active and daring Tarleton, who made a march of one hundred and five miles in fifty-four hours, surprised Buford at the Waxhaws, on the borders of North Carolina, surrounded him, and summoned him to surrender, offering the same terms which had been granted to Lincoln at Charlestown. Buford refused the terms, and then sustained one of Tarleton's fiercest charges, which broke his ill-prepared and dispirited corps to pieces. The American colonel fled headlong from the field with a few cavalry; about a hundred infantry, who were in the advance, escaped also; but nearly

all the rest were killed on the spot or taken prisoners, together with all the artillery, ammunition, and baggage. After this sharp affair at Waxhaws there was scarcely the semblance of opposition anywhere in South Carolina and Georgia: the troops of congress were prisoners, were scattered or destroyed; the spirit of resistance seemed broken, and the people in almost every part of that wide country seemed ready and willing to submit.

On the 5th of June Clinton re-embarked for New York, having received information that a French armament was expected on that part of the coast to co-operate with General Washington. He left behind him about 4000 men under the command of Lord Cornwallis, who kept up a correspondence with the Royalists in North Carolina, requesting them to attend to their harvest, collect provisions, and remain quiet until he could enter their province with the king's troops, which, on account of the hot and unhealthy season, and other circumstances, he could not do till the beginning of September. In spite, however, of this prudent warning, some over eager Royalists assembled in arms towards the end of June, and were immediately attacked and dispersed by the militia of the province. This premature insurrection brought on a frightful persecution of the Royalists in every part of North Carolina: they were thrown into prisons, their property was seized, and many of them were tried and hanged as traitors. For some weeks not a day passed without an execution. To escape this extreme fate, or the insupportable persecutions, 800 of the North Carolina Royalists, instead of waiting for Cornwallis, assembled under a Colonel Bryan, and, marching by an indirect road, joined a detachment of the British army stationed at the town of Camden, in South Carolina. At the same time extraordinary exertions were made by the republican party in Virginia to reinforce their brethren in N Carolina; and congress ordered Washington to deta considerable part of his army—the troops of Maryl and Delaware, and the 1st regiment of artillery, all ur the command of Kalb, the German—in that direct With this encouragement, and with a total disregar

their paroles or oaths of allegiance, the republicans of Charlestown and South Carolina began to concert measures for overwhelming Cornwallis, and driving every British soldier and every American Royalist out of the country. And when intelligence was received that Kalb had reached the heart of North Carolina and united his force with 3000 militia, and that the government of Virginia had voted 5000 men, several American officers, who had been employed by Cornwallis, began to desert. One Lisle, who had taken the oath of allegiance, and obtained rank and command, waited until his battalion of militia was supplied from the royal stores with arms and ammunition, and then decamped with all his men to join the republicans. On the 25th of July Gates reached the camp in North Carolina to take the supreme command of the republican army. With 6000 men Gates soon advanced to Camden, where Lords Cornwallis and Rawdon were posted with only 2000 men. Instead of waiting to be attacked, the king's generals advanced to meet the republican; and, on the 16th of August, Gates was most thoroughly and ignominiously defeated. He fled from the field, with only a few friends, before the battle was lost. On the side of the Americans none fought like men except two brigades of regular troops who were left under the German, Kalb, without support and without orders what to do. Kalb had some artillery, of which he made good use when Lord Rawdon advanced to charge him: he kept his ground for nearly three quarters of an hour, and sustained more than one bayonet charge without yielding an inch; but Kalb himself fell covered with wounds, and then his men broke and fled in all directions, being pursued by Cornwallis's cavalry, who followed them all the way to Hanging Rock, or nearly 22 miles from the scene of the action. Never was victory more complete. All Gates's corps were broken and scattered, and of his 6000 men it would have been difficult that evening to have collected 60 on any one point except as prisoners in the British camp. The American prisoners and wounded were treated with the greatest humanity. Congress, who had despatched Gates

with the confident assurance that the "conqueror of Burgoyne," as he was called, would prove the saviour of the south, were greatly cast down, and, in their dejection, began to discover that Gates was not a very wise or very great general, and that Washington was right in affirming, as he still continued to do, that militia regiments were not to be depended upon in a contest with regular troops. But not even Washington could have expected such shameless pusillanimity as had been shown in this affair. Lord Cornwallis now prepared himself for North Carolina, where he was anxiously expected by the suffering Royalists. But before he began his march he gave some examples of severity. The estates of all those who had broken their parole or their oath, were ordered to be sequestered; instant death was denounced against those who, after taking protections and accepting service under the British government, should desert; and, to show that this would not remain, as it had hitherto done, an empty threat, he hanged some few of the South Carolina militia who had been taken in the battle near Camden with arms in their hands and British protections in their pockets: and as by letters found upon some of the officers of Gates's army it was discovered that sundry persons of superior condition, who had been prisoners upon parole in Charlestown, had been corresponding with the enemy, he ordered them to be put on board the prison-ships. Although the Americans nowhere ventured to show themselves in front of the British, Lord Cornwallis's expedition into North Carolina proved a failure, for Major Ferguson, who was co-operating with a corps of American loyal militia, was overwhelmed and cut to pieces.

On the side of New York a variety of unconnected petty enterprises had been undertaken during the abse of Clinton at Charlestown. They generally ended vourably to the king's troops. Meanwhile Washingt distresses and the loss of credit of congress continued the increase. There were whole days on which general had no bread or biscuit to give his men; supplies of forage had failed, and a great proportio

his horses had perished or been rendered unfit for service. There were no funds or credit to procure others, and his quartermaster-general was unable to transport provisions from remote magazines. For a long time Washington's earnest remonstrances met with little attention from the civil patriots sitting in congress, who, suffering no positive privations themselves, seem to have entertained a notion that the power of endurance of the soldiery was boundless: but at last a committee of three was sent to Washington's camp, and these civilians reported that the army had received no pay for five months; that everything was wanting; that every department of the army was pennyless, and had not even the shadow of credit left; and, finally, that the patience of the soldiers, tried by long and complicated sufferings, was on the point of being wholly exhausted. Two Connecticut regiments mutinied in camp; and Washington now declared that without the pecuniary and other aids expected from France the hope of congress was altogether forlorn. He carefully avoided an action; but being completely deceived by some movements made by Clinton after his return from Charlestown, he had the mortification to see Greene, his second in command, completely defeated, and the town of Springfield taken and burned almost under his eyes. In the meantime the Marquis de Lafayette, the forerunner of good news, had arrived at Washington's head-quarters with the assurance that his most Christian majesty was really sending a considerable land-force as well as fleet to co-operate in the United States. The intelligence gave new life and hope to congress and the several state legislatures, and extraordinary efforts were made to raise and procure money in order to give the army some appearance of respectability before the arrival of their French allies. There were no longer any jealous murmurs as to the admission of these foreign troops, for nearly every man felt that without their assistance the struggle was, at least for the present, next to hopeless. Bills were drawn on Franklin and Jay at Paris, and ten millions of dollars were demanded from the states of the union within thirty

days. On the 13th of July the anxiously expected French armament arrived at Rhode Island: it consisted of seven ships of the line, some frigates, and a number of transports, having on board 6000 veteran troops; the fleet being commanded by the Chevalier de Ternay, and the troops by the Count de Rochambeau, an experienced officer, who had served with distinction in the Seven Years' war, and who had fought in the battle of Minden. But as the British fleet was reinforced, and the French under de Ternay blockaded, and as Washington's army was not in a condition to take the field, the war on the continent languished.

In the West Indies, where the French were still hungering after our sugar islands, Admiral Rodney, with twenty-two sail of the line and six frigates, contended successfully with the French admiral, de Guichen, who had twenty-three sail of the line, and a number of frigates and smaller craft. On the 17th of April there was an indecisive engagement between the two fleets, which might have been made decisive and destructive to the French if all our captains had done their duty. But several commanders who had not behaved very well in the battle off Cape St. Vincent, did not obey the Admiral's signals; the spirit of political party reigned in the fleet; Rodney was hated or envied as a Tory and a friend of ministers, and other feelings of jealousy or irritation checked the efforts of men who did not want courage, but who were sufficiently destitute of principle and patriotism to permit these base motives to interfere with their duty. In the course of the summer, de Guichen was joined by the Spanish admiral, Solano, who brought with him twelve sail of the line, several frigates, and a swarm of transports, containing from 10,000 to 12,000 land-troops. Before this vast superiority of f Rodney was obliged to retire for a while. But so terrible sickness broke out in the over-crowded ship the Spaniards, and extended its ravages to the Fre fleet. Moreover, fierce dissensions and old nati animosities broke out between these incompatible al whose commanders could never agree as to the li

operations to be pursued. Sorry that they had ever met, the two admirals separated; de Guichen returning to Europe, and Solano proceeding to the Havannah. Thus, not one of our islands was lost.

The news of the approach of Admiral Rodney to New York, and of the retreat of de Guichen, overthrew all the plans of Washington, de Ternay, and Rochambeau. To concert some new scheme of operation, these commanders had a personal interview, on the 21st of September, at Hartford, in Connecticut. But, under circumstances so discouraging, neither Washington nor Rochambeau knew what to propose; and the American general concluded that his campaign must this year, as the last, end inactively and ingloriously.

During his absence at Hartford a plot was matured which had well nigh multiplied to a fatal extent his embarrassments and difficulties. Benedict Arnold, who from the condition of a horse-dealer had raised himself to the rank of a major-general, and who had displayed more real military genius and inspiration than all the generals put together, American or English, engaged in this war, together with the most undaunted personal courage, had conceived himself ungratefully and harshly used by congress, and had opened a secret correspondence with Sir Henry Clinton for the purpose of passing over to the king's service with some of the troops he commanded, and placing in the hands of the British the strong and important post of West Point, on the Hudson, about sixty miles above New York, which he was then occupying. Some time before obtaining this important command he had written a letter to Colonel Robinson, an officer on Clinton's staff, to intimate that his political principles had undergone a change, and that it was now his heart's wish to restore himself to the favour of his king by some signal service. This letter, of course, opened the way to a correspondence with the British commander-in-chief, who, as every other commander would have done, encouraged a disaffection by which he was to profit. The officer of most literary acquirements on the staff of Sir Henry Clinton, and at

the same time one of the most elegant and amiable men in the British army, was Major John André, adjutant-general and aide-de-camp to Sir Henry. Poor André, who had not been born and bred a soldier, seems not to have been aware that such services, however useful or necessary, are not coveted by officers who pique themselves on their honour. It is to be noted, however, that he was bound by strong ties of gratitude and affection to his commander-in-chief, and that in so dangerous an enterprise Arnold would naturally require the agency of an officer of high consideration, and in the close confidence of Clinton. After corresponding for some time with the American general under the disguise of mercantile language and feigned names, André undertook to confer personally with Arnold in order to bring the negotiations to a conclusion. On the night of Friday, the 22nd of September, André and Arnold met outside of the American lines, and arranged everything for the delivery of West Point to the British on the Monday following. Before the conference ended daylight appeared; and, to avoid exciting suspicion, Arnold proposed that André should remain concealed until the return of darkness. André agreed; but, it is said, refused peremptorily to be carried within the American posts. They continued together the greater part of the day, during which Arnold placed some necessary papers in the hands of André. At night when André went down to the bank of the Hudson to get on board the 'Vulture' sloop, the American boatmen who had brought him on shore refused to carry him back: according to one account their suspicions were excited, according to another they objected because the 'Vulture' had shifted her anchorage during the day in consequence of a gun which had been brought down to the shore to bear upon her without the kn ledge of Arnold. Under these circumstances A resolved to travel to New York by land; and Arn who still lingered at the house, insisted that he must aside his English uniform, which he had hitherto w under a surtout, and put on plain clothes, in orde avoid detection. André very reluctantly assented;

then, with a pass from Arnold, authorizing him, under the name of John Anderson, to proceed on the public service to the White Plains, or lower if he thought proper, and with a Mr. Smith for his guide, the major took the road for New York. When he reached the next American post he found himself obliged, in order to prevent suspicion, to follow the advice of the commanding officer, and to remain there for the night. Next morning he continued his journey, and Smith, having conducted him within view of the English lines, left him a little below Pine's Bridge, a village on the Croton. André rode on alone, and by virtue of Arnold's pass he had passed the last of the American posts, and was about entering the village of Jarrytown, on the neutral ground between the lines of the two armies, with the agreeable feeling that all danger and necessity of disguise were over, when three men, who had been lurking behind some bushes, rushed out upon the road before his horse's head, and took hold of the rein. The unfortunate André either fancied, from the locality and its nearness to New York, that they were Royalists, or lost his presence of mind altogether: he hastily asked the men whence they were, and, being answered "From below," which in the language of the district signified from New York, and suspecting no deception, he answered "So am I." This was quite enough for the Americans, who instantly began to search his person for papers. Finding out his mistake too late, he offered them a purse of gold and his watch to allow him to pass on; but the bribe was rejected, and no attention paid to his more tempting offer of getting them promotion in the British army, or an immense reward in money from government if they would accompany him to New York.* They found concealed in his boots the various papers which Arnold had written, and which contained exact returns of the state of the forces, ordnance, and defences at West Point, &c. The three men, who belonged to the republican New

* The names of these men were John Paulding, David Williams, and Isaac Vanwert.

York militia, immediately carried him before Lieutenant-Colonel Jameson, the officer commanding the scouting parties, or the outposts. André's great anxiety was not for himself, but for Arnold; and we are inclined to believe that André, or some other person interested in the fate of Arnold, found means to give him quick notice of his danger. But, however warned, Arnold certainly received intelligence on the morning of the 25th, just in time to permit him to make his escape, and only a few hours before Washington arrived at West Point from Connecticut. He instantly took a hurried leave of his wife and infant child, left his wife in a swoon, mounted the horse of his aide-de-camp, which was ready saddled, galloped down to a part of the river where he had a barge in readiness, and rowed off to the 'Vulture' sloop. As soon as André thought Arnold was out of danger, he announced his own name and rank in the British army; and, with more anxiety for his military honour than for his life, he wrote a letter to Washington, to secure himself from the imputation of having assumed a mean character for treacherous purposes or self-interest. "The request I have to make to your excellency," said he, "and I am conscious that I address myself well, is, that, in any rigour policy may dictate, a decency of conduct towards me may mark that, though unfortunate, I am branded with nothing dishonourable; as no motive could be mine but the service of my king, and as I was involuntarily an impostor." He then mentioned the condition of the American gentlemen at Charlestown, who, being either on parole or under Lord Cornwallis's protection, had engaged in a conspiracy against the British. "Though," said he, "their situation is not similar to mine, they are objects who may be sent in exchange for me, or are persons whom the treatment I receive may affect." The letter concluded with expressions of c fidence in the generosity of Washington's mind. A reinforcing the garrison of West Point with a str detachment from his army, and adopting various prec tions which he deemed necessary, as he knew not h far Arnold's disaffection might have extended, i

strongly suspected some officers on that general's staff, Washington attended to the case of André, and appointed a board of general officers to inquire into it. Sir Henry Clinton, as soon as he was aware of André's arrest, wrote a letter to Washington, stating, that he had permitted Major André to go to Major-General Arnold at the particular request of that general officer; that he landed with a flag of truce sent by Arnold, and that he trusted Washington, under these circumstances, would immediately liberate him. In Clinton's letter was enclosed a note to him from Arnold, in which the latter affirmed that he had sent Major André a flag of truce, and finally given him passports for his safe return; all which, he said, he had then a right to do, being in the actual service of America, and commanding general at West Point and its dependencies. Washington did not reply to Clinton's letter, which was written on the 26th, until the 30th, when his board of general officers had already declared André to be a spy. That court had consisted of Major-General Greene, president; Lord Stirling, major-general; Lafayette the Frenchman, Steuben the Prussian, ten other American generals, and John Laurens the judge-advocate. André, though he confessed that it was impossible for him to suppose he could be protected by Arnold's flag of truce, pleaded that his being in disguise and within their lines at all had arisen out of a train of accidents which he could neither foresee nor prevent. He did not attempt to conceal anything concerning himself, but he would divulge nothing which might involve others. His whole behaviour, candid, open, and manly, impressed with admiration the very men who had made up their minds to put him to an ignominious death.* It is said that some of the general

* "He was an important person," says Lafayette, writing at the moment, "the friend and confidant of General Clinton. He behaved with so much frankness, courage, and delicacy, that I could not help lamenting his unhappy fate."—*Letter to Madame Lafayette, in Memoirs, Correspondence, &c., published by his family.* But, if Lafayette lamented, he did nothing to avert the fate of the brave and accomplished man.

officers were overcome by their feelings, and that the sentence of the board was *not* unanimous. Sir Henry Clinton instantly wrote to Washington, that he was persuaded that the board of general officers to whom he had referred the case could not have been rightly informed of all the circumstances; and that he thought it of the highest moment to humanity that his excellency should be perfectly apprised of the whole state of the matter before proceeding to put the sentence into execution. And to this end he said he was sending Lieutenant-General Robertson, the Hon. Andrew Eliot, lieutenant-governor, and the Hon. William Smith, chief-justice of New York, to wait upon his excellency, to give him a true state, of facts, and to declare his own sentiments and resolutions. When this deputation went up the Hudson with a flag of truce, Washington refused to permit any one to land except General Robertson; and, instead of meeting that general himself, he deputed General Greene to hold the conference. To Greene General Robertson represented that he could prove, by the evidence of the officers of the 'Vulture,' and by General Arnold's own letter, that Major André went on shore with a flag of truce, with the knowledge and under the protection of the general commanding the district; that he had taken no step while on shore but by the direction of General Arnold, under whose direction he necessarily was while within his command. Using a much better argument, General Robertson represented the conduct of *his* commander in a somewhat parallel case, showing that *a Captain Robinson of the American army had been delivered up to Sir Henry Clinton as a spy, and undoubtedly was such; but that, it being signified to Sir Henry that General Washington was desirous the man should be ex-*

Some of the American generals, too, *lamented*, but pt twisting the rope that was to hang him all the while. T re are accounts which say that the deep sympathy and regret was all a farce; and that André, who was a wit and a poet, was most cordially hated by the Americans on account of some witticisms and satirical verses at their expense.

changed, he had ordered him to be exchanged as a prisoner of war, instead of allowing martial law to have its course. As General Greene was unmoved by arguments, facts, and appeals to his feelings, Robertson proposed that two foreign gentlemen acquainted with the laws of war and of nations might be asked for their opinions on the subject; and he named as proper referees the German general, Knyphausen, on the part of the English, and the French general, Rochambeau, who had not been invited to attend Washington's board of general officers. General Robertson further told Greene that he wished that an interchange of such civilities as the rules of war admit of might be allowed to take off many of the horrors of war; that Major André had a great share of his commander's esteem; that Sir Henry Clinton would be infinitely obliged by his liberation, and would in return liberate any person whom Washington might please to name. "I added," says Robertson, "*that Sir Henry Clinton had never put to death any person for a breach of the rules of war, though he had and now has many such persons in his power.*" The evident truth of this assertion, which was equally applicable to Sir William Howe, Clinton's predecessor in the chief command, and the notorious irregularities and breaches of the rules of war which the undisciplined Americans, partly through ignorance, partly through heat and a contempt for all such regulations, had been guilty of all through the contest, ought by Washington and his brethren to have been allowed some weight in favour of their interesting prisoner—but they were allowed none. The day before that fixed for the execution of the victim of his plot, Arnold wrote a long and earnest letter to Washington to avert the doom. He gave a certificate of facts, tending to exculpate the prisoner; he declared that it was at his pressing instance, and with much reluctance, that Major André had changed his uniform; that he had furnished him with a horse and saddle, and pointed out the route by which he was to return; and he insisted that he had an undoubted right to do all this at the time. Arnold further told Washington, that if

the board of general officers adhered to their former opinion after this candid representation, he must suppose their conduct proceeded from passion and resentment; and that if Major André suffered the severity of their sentence, he should think himself bound, by every tie of duty and honour, to retaliate on such unhappy persons of Washington's army as might fall within his power. But Washington, who had not bated a jot of his resolution through the representations of Sir Henry Clinton, General Robertson, and others, was not likely to be moved by the appeals and menaces of Arnold. The day before his execution the unfortunate André, in a letter which draws tears to the eyes, implored that the degrading part of his sentence might be changed, and that he might be shot as a soldier instead of being hanged. To this touching appeal Washington returned an evasive answer; but he held, with a most unseasonable sternness, that the practice and usage of war were against granting the request; and when, on the following morning—the 2nd of October—André was led forth to suffer, *it was under a gibbet*. He exclaimed in an agony, "Must I then die in this manner?" but, soon recovering his composure, he added, "It will be but a momentary pang," and he gave no further expression to his feelings. He died nobly, and tears are said to have been shed by those who, without any great stretch, might have saved his life, or lessened the anguish of his last moments. Washington reported in a letter to a friend that he met his fate "with that fortitude which was expected from an accomplished man and a gallant soldier;" and Washington's military secretary, Colonel Hamilton, employed his pen on a brief record of the virtues, abilities, elegance of mind and manners, and rare accomplishments of their victim, who was only in his 29th or 30th year, when he fell a sacrifice to plots of Arnold and the obduracy of Washington.*

* Correspondence, as given in Ann. Regist., Ren brancer, and other publications of the time.—Washingt Letters.—Miss Seward's Letters and Notes to her Mon

Five days after his death, or on the 7th of October, Arnold, who had received the rank of major-general in the king's service, issued what he called "An Address to the Inhabitants of America," to account for his conduct and to invite others to imitate it. He was employed during the remainder of the war, because it was considered that he possessed some peculiar advantages of local knowledge and connexions, and because his great military skill and his bravery remained equally indisputable; but the British officers shunned his society, and the British soldiers on guard, bound to salute his uniform and respect his rank, generally whispered as he passed, "There goes the traitor Arnold." Notwithstanding the threats held out when it was hoped that they might stop the execution of Major André, no reprisals were made after his death:—not one of the many Americans in the power of Sir Henry Clinton and Lord Cornwallis was condemned by a military tribunal for their flagrant and, in some instances, *repeated* breaches of the laws of war. In the course of the autumn congress found itself compelled to listen to the complaints of the American captives of war, and an agreement for a general exchange

on the Death of Major André.—Art. André, in Pen. Cyclo. —Marshall's Life of Washington.

André had begun life in the peaceful calling of a merchant, but an unfortunate attachment induced him to quit his profession and his country. The lady of his love, the beautiful and accomplished Honora Sneyd, the bosom friend of Anne Seward, became the second wife of that man of many wives, R. L. Edgeworth, Esq., the father (by his first wife) of Miss Edgeworth, the admirable novelist; but she died of consumption, on the 30th of April, 1780, five months and two days before the execution of André, who appears to have been ignorant of the sad event. When taken and stripped of everything by the Americans, he concealed a small miniature portrait of the lady in his mouth. On the 25th of December of the same year—just seven months and twenty-five days after the death of Honora—Edgeworth married her sister, Miss Elizabeth Sneyd.

André excelled in painting and music. As a poet he was above the mediocrity of his day.

of prisoners was finally settled, towards the close of the year, between Major-General Phillips, of the British army, who had been prisoner ever since the convention of Saratoga, and Major-General Lincoln, of the American army, who had surrendered at Charlestown. But even now the release of the privates of Burgoyne's army was refused; congress would not depart from their former ungrounded and equivocating resolutions; and those poor fellows were kept in captivity during the remainder of the war. Washington continued to press congress for more troops. He declared that the resources of Great Britain were still wonderfully great; that, notwithstanding her numerous open and secret enemies, she was still in a state to prosecute the war, so that a speedy peace was not to be expected in America. He repeated that in several instances nothing but the infatuation of the British generals had saved the whole cause of independence from ruin.* All the belligerents went early into quarters, and, with the exception of a few paltry expeditions for forage and plunder made by each party, Clinton's army during the winter remained at New York and its dependencies, doing nothing; Washington continued to occupy his old station on the high lands above the Hudson, doing nothing; and the French troops under Rochambeau stayed at Rhode Island, doing nothing.

The Americans had never for a moment relaxed their endeavours to induce the Dutch to declare war against Great Britain; and the affair with Count Beyland had greatly favoured their efforts. In the month of October Lord North's government accidently discovered that a treaty was in progress between the States-General and the United States. As the Dutch would return no answer to the remonstrances of our ambassador, Sir Joseph Yorke, his majesty, on the 20th of December, issued a manifesto, declaring that Great Britain had issued letters of reprisal against the Dutch, and justifying her conduct in taking this hostile step. The stadtholder approved

* Washington's Letters.

neither of the treaty with the United States nor of the war with England; but his limited power was completely borne down by a busy and potent faction. It appears, too, that the States-General had no sooner thrown the die than they were visited by apprehensions and misgivings, and something like a foresight of the loss and degradation that awaited their country in this war.

The parliament, prorogued on the 8th of July, was dissolved on the 1st of September by a sudden and unexpected proclamation. Several of the most popular members were thrown out of their seats; and the elections went, upon the whole, much in favour of the court. One hundred and thirteen new men obtained seats. The new parliament assembled on the 31st of October. On the following day the king delivered his speech, in which he complained again of the unprovoked aggression of France and Spain, who were exerting all their power to support the rebellion of his colonies, to destroy the commerce and give a fatal blow to the power of Great Britain; but he added that the bravery of his fleets and his armies had enabled him to withstand their formidable attempts; and that he hoped the late successes in Georgia and Carolina would have important consequences in bringing the war to a happy conclusion. The army and navy estimates were carried by triumphant majorities, which served to remind Lord North of the earlier years of his administration, and to efface the recollections of the narrow divisions and occasional minorities of the latter part of the last parliament. On the 13th of November, upon the proposition being made that 91,000 men, including marines, should be the naval force for the service of the ensuing year, Fox pledged himself to the House to move, after the Christmas holidays, for the dismissal of the Earl of Sandwich, and afterwards to bring him to condign punishment. The debate was conducted in a fierce party spirit ill calculated to remove from the navy those dissensions which every one complained of, and which had recently frustrated the valour and skill of Rodney. The only immediate

result was a resolution that a copy of the minutes of the trial and sentence of the court-martial held upon Palliser should be laid before the House.

A.D. 1781.—The opposition, though weakened in numbers, had lost little of its heat or eloquence. Fox and his friends still spoke of the invincibility of the Americans, and regarded our brilliant victories in the field with scornful incredulity. They raised a storm against the employment of the military for the suppression of the London riots; they blamed the government for declaring war against the Dutch; and they endeavoured to thwart Lord North in his financial arrangements, which were neither better nor worse than those which had been usually allowed.

On the 30th of May Colonel Hartley, who fancied that some kind of conciliation was still possible, moved for leave to bring in a bill vesting the crown with sufficient powers to treat, consult, and finally agree upon the means of restoring peace with the provinces of North America; but this motion, after a grand display by Fox and Burke, was rejected by 106 against 72. A few days afterwards intelligence had arrived from North Carolina, which tended to prove that, in spite of Lord Cornwallis's victories, we were losing ground in that quarter. This gave additional encouragement to the opposition; and, on the 12th of June, Fox moved that the House should resolve itself into a committee, to consider of the American war: and at the same time he gave notice that he intended to move in committee—"That his majesty's ministers ought immediately to take every possible measure for concluding peace with our American colonies." The origin of the dispute, the whole history of the war, was gone over by the orators on both sides, without much novelty of remark. One great object of the opp site parties was to throw blame upon each other: t oppositionists blamed the ministerialists for having fi provoked the war like tyrants, and for then having con ducted it like fools; the ministerialists blamed the oppo sitionists for having encouraged the spirit of revolt i America and everywhere else, and for having done thei

best, or their worst, to prevent that strong national unanimity which would have given success to the war, or made the burthen and expenses of it more endurable; and they did not forget their old argument—that the quarrel with America had not been begun by themselves, but under the administration of their opponents. At midnight the House divided, when Fox's motion was rejected by 172 against 99.

On the 18th of July the king prorogued parliament, thanking them for their long attendance, their loyalty, and good affection. As the prospect of brilliant successes had opened in India—as there was already a sign and a promise that the energy and enterprise of the British would build up in the east a vaster empire than any we had ever possessed in the west—his majesty dwelt at some length upon the subject of Indian affairs, and warmly applauded measures adopted or in progress for checking abuses in those distant possessions, and for making our conquests equally advantageous to the natives and ourselves.

At the beginning of the year, the French, under the Baron de Rullecourt, had made another attempt upon the island of Jersey, and had captured by night its little capital, with the lieutenant-governor, Major Corbet, who, with too much precipitation, signed a capitulation of surrender for the whole island. Fortunately there were braver men than Corbet in Jersey. Major Pierson, collecting all the force he could, fell upon the French invaders in the market-place of St. Heliers, and, being assisted by the townspeople, who kept up a warm fire from the houses, he killed a good many of them and compelled all the rest to surrender prisoners of war. But the gallant young Pierson was himself killed by almost the last shot that was fired by the French. The Baron de Rullecourt, at an earlier part of the action, received three or four wounds, and he died almost immediately after the surrender. Nearly 800 French were either killed or taken. They had begun their expedition with nearly 2000; but their vessels had been scattered by a terrible storm, about 200 had perished at sea,

or among the rocks or breakers, and a great many had been driven back to their own ports.

In the meantime the besieged garrison of Gibraltar were again reduced to great straits by the persevering Spaniards: the supplies which Rodney had thrown in the year before were nearly exhausted, and the only hope of receiving succour was to get it direct from England. To this important service Admiral Darby was appointed. After escorting the East and West India trade to a certain latitude, Darby, about the middle of April, arrived off Cadiz, and, looking into the harbour, saw the grand Spanish fleet gathered there, and lying peaceably at anchor. Cordova, the Spanish admiral, had talked of meeting the English fleet at sea; but he now considered his force not sufficiently superior to risk an engagement, and he determined to remain where he was. Darby forwarded the convoy with provisions, stores, &c. to Gibraltar, with some ships of the line and frigates to cover them, and remained with the rest of his fleet cruising between Cadiz Bay and the mouth of the Straits of Gibraltar, watching Cordova and preventing the passage of any hostile ships. The 100 vessels, with the staff-of-life on board, were hailed with transports of joy by the half-famished British soldiers stationed on the rocky heights; and, as they became discernible to those below, a shout of joy and three good English cheers ran from battery to battery—from the old Moorish castle and the Devil's Tongue battery to Europa Point. The brave fellows did not much fear the Spaniards, but they had a true English aversion to reduced rations and short commons. Darby's convoying captains presently scattered the swarm of Spanish gunboats that attempted to sink the transports, and the succours were landed with very little difficulty.

Beyond the Atlantic the earliest events of the year seemed altogether unfavourable to the American cause. On the night of the 1st of January an open and almost universal revolt broke out in Washington's line. For some months all discipline had been relaxed; the officers were almost as dissatisfied as the men, and all had been

condemned to a near approach of starvation, notwithstanding the resolutions passed by congress. In an attempt to suppress this mutiny, Captain Billing was killed and several other officers were wounded. General Wayne drew his pistol and threatened some of the ringleaders; but, with a bayonet presented to his own breast, he was soon compelled to retire and leave his people to their own courses. With six field-pieces, and with most of the stores, the Pennsylvania line, 1300 strong, marched away towards Princeton. On the 4th of January, Sir Henry Clinton, fully informed of all that was passing, sent from New York to Princeton three emissaries with very tempting offers to the revolted troops, and with the suggestion that they should immediately take up a position behind the South River, where he would soon cover them by detachments from the royal army in New York. But, whatever was the amount of their dissatisfaction with congress, the mutineers were not prepared to enter into any compact with the English general. They seemed, however, to have determined, with their usual national adroitness, to make something by Clinton's overtures: they seized his three emissaries and communicated their proposals to General Wayne, with assurances of their utter detestation of the idea of going over to the common enemy, the British; but at the same time they kept the emissaries in their own hands; they refused to cross the Delaware, or to march out of Princeton; they refused to permit any of their former officers to enter their camp; and they ordered Lafayette, General St. Clair, and Lieutenant-Colonel Laurens, who had presented themselves as mediators, to quit Princeton immediately. Affairs were in this state when a committee of congress, the governor of Pennsylvania, and a part of his council, arrived in the neighbourhood of Princeton, to negotiate with the revolters. If the army of the republic had been composed of materials like those which had been dreamed of at the first breaking out of the revolution, the proceeding might not have worn quite so humiliating a character; but these mutineers, who defied the powers of the government, and assumed to treat on a

footing of equality, through their sergeant delegates, with the delegates of the sovereign congress, were in fact nothing more than men raised by the usual processes of enlistment, bounty-money, and conscription. A conference took place outside of Princeton between the sergeants and the committee. After due deliberation the mutineers agreed to march from Princeton to Trenton, with their sergeants for their officers and commanders. At Trenton they accepted the terms offered by congress, but not until the committee agreed that three commissioners, appointed by the soldiers, and chosen from the line, should constitute part of the board authorized to settle their claims. And when this bargain was concluded, but not before, the mutineers gave up Sir Henry Clinton's three emissaries, *who were all hanged as spies.* The sergeants retained the entire command until the board decided what men were entitled to their discharge. As this state of things alarmed and embarrassed the government, and tended to commit the character of the whole republican army, the board proceeded with the utmost haste to liberate all such as chose to swear that they had enlisted for only three years. Even before the rolls of enlistment could be brought to Trenton, nearly the whole of the artillery and of the first five regiments of infantry of this Pennsylvanian line were discharged upon their own oaths. When the enlistment rolls were produced it was found that far the greater part of these men had preferred perjury to future service, having been enlisted, not for three years, but absolutely for the whole war. There was, however, no remedy, no power of correction: the discharges given remained good; and the few men who were too scrupulous to forswear themselves, received furloughs for forty days.

In the meantime, the Americans had to sustain the war without the foreign money and additional assistance for which they were constantly importuning the French, the Dutch, and the Spaniards. On the 1st of January, when the Pennsylvanian line were beginning their revolt, General Arnold appeared in Hampton Road, on

the Chesapeake, to carry devastation into Virginia. He had with him about 1200 men, partly Americans like himself, but who, unlike him, had always been steady to one side. With this small force Arnold proceeded up James River, and landed at Westover, only twenty-five miles from Richmond, the capital of Virginia. His expedition was attended with complete success and with scarcely any loss of men. Of 50,000 enrolled Virginia militia, only a few hundreds could ever be collected at one point to oppose him; and these men generally ran away so soon as Arnold appeared. Jefferson, now governor of that state, fled from Richmond, by night and with the greatest precipitation. All the public buildings and all the tobacco-stores, as well at Westham as at Richmond, were burned, together with a great heap of Jefferson's papers. On the 20th of January Arnold returned to Portsmouth, where he was joined by about 800 more men, and where it appeared that he intended to establish himself in order to command the navigation of the Chesapeake. If an effectual blockade of the great rivers and outlets had been established, and if no troops had been risked in the interior of the country, the American confederacy might have been broken up, in spite of French, Spaniards, and Dutch.

The surprise and capture of Arnold was attempted in various and not very honourable ways by the republicans; but he was as cunning as the cunningest of them; and with 2000 men and a good position at Portsmouth, he feared no open force. The French Admiral de Ternay had been so long blockaded by the English in Rhode Island, that his death, which happened about this time, was attributed to grief and chagrin. He was succeeded by M. Destouches, who, availing himself of a recent tempest, which had scattered and somewhat damaged our blockading fleet, sent Commodore de Tilley to the Chesapeake with a ship of the line and two frigates, to recover Portsmouth and capture Arnold, with the assistance of Lafayette, who was to descend the river and make an attack upon Portsmouth from the land side. The attempt proved a downright failure; but on his way

back de Tilley met with an accidental success; for, near the Capes of Virginia his squadron fell in with and captured an English 50-gun ship. The great scheme for capturing Arnold was not, however, abandoned. In the month of March the whole of the French fleet ventured to sea, in order to escort to the Chesapeake the greater part of Rochambeau's army. Admiral Arbuthnot soon followed them, and on the 16th of March he brought them to action off Cape Henry. After fighting for about an hour, the French ran to leeward. Next day Destouches called a council of war, wherein it was resolved neither to risk another action nor attempt ascending the Chesapeake, but to return instantly to Rhode Island. On the 26th of March, General Phillips arrived at Portsmouth, and took the command of the troops there, over Arnold. The defence of the interior of Virginia was now intrusted to Lafayette, who attempted to check the prevailing desertion by giving the republicans money which he raised on his own private bills, payable in France, among the patriotic merchants in Baltimore. In spite of the approach of Lafayette, Generals Phillips and Arnold made excursions up the river, and far into the country, destroying the ship-yards, arsenals, all public property, and all the tobacco at Williamsburgh, York Town, Petersburg, Chesterfield Court-House, Osbornes, Warwick, and Manchester. They then fell down the river to Hog Island, where they remained until Lord Cornwallis gave them notice that he was about marching into Virginia from the Carolinas and expected their co-operation.

General Greene now commanded the troops of congress in North Carolina, having his head-quarters at Charlotte Town. On the 17th of January Tarleton was defeated in one of his rapid and daring expeditions, at a place called the Cow-pens. On the 1st of February Lord Cornwallis crossed the Catawba River to attack Greene. The North Carolina militia was presently beaten and put to flight. Greene then retreated to the Yadkin, where his rear was almost sacrificed. From the Yadkin the American general retired to the river Dan,

intending to give up North Carolina, and to march into Virginia without risking a battle. Cornwallis proceeded to Hillsborough, then the capital of North Carolina. For a moment the whole of the provinces seemed at his feet; but Greene, who had been unexpectedly recruited on the Virginian frontier, soon returned, intending to keep the field, but to avoid a general engagement against an enemy "who had demonstrated his capacity for rapid movement and hardy enterprise."* Lieutenant-Colonel Lee recrossed the Dan on the 21st of February, and Greene followed with the rest of his army the next day. Lee's first exploit was to surprise in a long hollow lane, and to butcher in cold blood, from 200 to 300 North Carolina Royalists. Quitting Hillsborough, which was destitute of provisions, Lord Cornwallis crossed the river Haw, and encamped on Allamance Creek, in order to afford protection to the great body of American Royalists who resided between the Haw and Deep rivers. Being strongly reinforced, Greene, on the 15th of March, ventured to give Cornwallis battle in the neighbourhood of Guilford Court-House. The militia behaved in their usual manner, and though the British lost a good many officers and men in a bush fight, Greene was thoroughly defeated. He left behind him all the artillery he had in the field and two ammunition-waggons. "No battle in the course of the war," says an American writer, "reflects more honour on the courage of the British troops than that of Guilford. On no other occasion had they fought with such inferiority of numbers or disadvantage of ground."†

But when the extent of his loss was fully ascertained, Cornwallis felt that he was not in a condition to follow up his victory; and, as he could obtain no provisions where he was, he was under the necessity of retreating to a quarter where supplies could be obtained. Before advancing into North Carolina, his lordship had detached from Charlestown a small force under Major Craig, to take possession of Wilmington, a town at the mouth of

* Marshall, Life of Washington. † Marshall.

Cape Fear River, about 100 miles below the settlement of Cross Creek, which lies upon a branch of the same river. Craig proceeded by sea, made himself master of Wilmington with very little fighting, and fortified that post as well as his limited means would permit; and he had extended his authority several miles up Cape Fear River, in the direction of Cross Creek, which had now become Lord Cornwallis's head-quarters. As there was a friendly settlement of Scottish Highlanders in that neighbourhood, and many other known Royalists, as the situation was healthy and central, and as he hoped to establish his communications with Major Craig by means of the river, his lordship, who arrived at Cross Creek towards the end of March, resolved to remain there for some time to recover his sick and wounded. But he was disappointed in all his hopes as to the position of Cross Creek. Provisions and forage were scarce; the river, narrow and running between high banks, could not be converted into a means of communication with Craig at Wilmington, as nearly the whole population, on both sides, were inveterately hostile. Nothing, therefore, remained to be done but to march with the whole army to Wilmington, which was open to the sea, and could be supplied at all times by those who had the naval superiority. He arrived in the neighbourhood of Wilmington on the 7th of April. General Greene, who had been slowly moving in the rear of Cornwallis as far as Ramsey's Mills, two or three marches from Cross Creek, with an army as badly provided as the British, no sooner learned that Cornwallis had descended towards the sea-coast, than he resolved to carry the war into South Carolina, which, he calculated, would compel his lordship either to follow him, and thus evacuate all North Carolina, or to give up all his important posts in the upper parts of South Carolina. Cornwallis, aware of this movement, sent an express to Lord Rawdon, whom he had left in command in the upper parts of South Carolina, and who was occupying cantonments, with the town of Camden for his centre. But Greene reached Camden before this express, and Lord Rawdon

was left to act entirely on his own judgment. By calling in his detachments, and by arming every man in the garrison, drummers, musicians and all, Rawdon mustered an effective force of about 900 men. Greene, although he had never been able to collect a fourth part of the militia that had fled from the battle at Guilford, had about 1500 regular troops, and some corps of new militia. He did not, however, venture either to storm Camden or even to invest it; but he took up a position on Hobkirk's Hill, about two miles from the British lines, and encamped there in the expectation of being joined by Lieutenant-Colonel Lee and the independent partisan Marion, each with a considerable force. Lord Rawdon, who knew or guessed Greene's expectations, resolved to sally forth before they should be realised, and, seizing his opportunity when some of the militia were sent from Hobkirk's Hill to bring up some heavy baggage, his lordship, at nine o'clock on the morning of the 25th of April, marched out from Camden with his whole force, drove the Americans from the hill, and gave Greene another signal defeat.

In the meantime Lord Cornwallis had resolved to march from Wilmington right through North Carolina (which Greene had quitted to invade the south) into Virginia, to join his force with those serving under Arnold and Phillips. Many considerations induced him to adopt this bold and hazardous plan: to remain where he was would be useless; to return to South Carolina by land would be accompanied with many hazards; to return by sea would probably be attended with the loss of all his horses, and, besides, there were no transports ready to convey him; his whole force was reduced to 1435 men, and was thus far too weak to act offensively by itself; his advance into Virginia would, he thought, induce Greene to follow him, and leave North Carolina again clear; and he felt assured that long before Greene could get near him he could effect his junction with Phillips and Arnold, and be in a state to defy him and whatever other American force might be collected in Virginia. He had only a choice of difficulties, and it

seems to us that he chose wisely. He instructed Phillips and Arnold to ascend the Chesapeake and await his coming at Petersburg; and on the 25th of April, while Lord Rawdon, unknown to him, was fighting Greene at Hobkirk's Hill, he began his long and laborious march from Wilmington. Cornwallis traversed the whole of North Carolina, and the southern parts of Virginia, without encountering any opposition, and on the 20th of May he reached Petersburg. General Phillips had died of sickness on the very day he led his troops to Petersburg, so that the chief command of them had again fallen to Arnold, who had displayed his usual activity and skill. He had compelled Governor Jefferson and the Assembly of Virginia to fly from Richmond to the village of Charlottesville; and he had driven Lafayette along James River to a post a few miles below Richmond. Notwithstanding his laborious march, Lord Cornwallis allowed himself only three days' rest, marching from Petersburg on the 24th of May, and crossing James River, at Westover, about 30 miles below Lafayette's encampment. The river, where he crossed, was more than two miles wide, and the passage was effected by swimming the horses over a part and wading through the rest. At his approach Lafayette decamped with all possible speed, and retired towards the back country, inclining his route to the northward, in order to effect a junction with General Wayne, who was marching through Maryland with 800 men of the Pennsylvania line.* On the banks of James River Lord Cornwallis was reinforced by the 43rd regiment, sent by Sir Henry Clinton from New York; and the same convoy conducted another British regiment and two battalions of Anspach troops, who were landed at Portsmouth, and left there to strengthen that garrison. As the Virginia planters had a great love for horses, and had succeeded in obtaining some excellent breeds, Cornwallis, by seizures, was enabled not only to remount his cavalry in a very superior manner, but also to have horses for mounting his in-

* Lafayette's Letters, in Memoirs.—Marshall.—Stedman.

fantry destined for rapid expeditions. With a force, mounted in this manner, of 180 dragoons and 70 infantry, Tarleton was detached to beat up Jefferson and the assembly, who were busy in Charlottesville voting taxes and making more paper-money.

Having performed this service, and destroyed a great quantity of warlike store, Tarleton proceeded down the river to co-operate with Lieut.-Col. Simcoe, who had been detached with 500 infantry to destroy the military stores deposited at the Point of Fork, fifty miles above Richmond. But Baron Steuben, having received some warning, removed the stores to the other side of the river Fluvanna, and when Simcoe reached the Point of Fork, he found that Steuben's whole force had followed the stores, except about thirty men, who were made prisoners on the bank. By some ingenious stratagems Simcoe made the Prussian believe that the entire British army were advancing against him; and upon this Steuben left the bank of the river opposite to the Point of Fork covered with arms and stores, and retreated in disorder. Steuben joined Lafayette, who fled so fast across the Rapidan River that no pursuit was attempted. He effected his junction with General Wayne and the Pennsylvania line; and he then retraced his steps to the Rapidan. Lord Cornwallis had no intention of fighting a general battle, and he had just received orders from Sir Henry Clinton to send part of his troops back to New York, as the British commander-in-chief had learned, by intercepted letters written by Washington to congress, that the Americans and the French were contemplating a joint attack upon New York so soon as the Count de Grasse should arrive with a fresh fleet. Cornwallis, therefore, slowly retired to Richmond, and afterwards to Williamsburg, being cautiously and timidly followed by Lafayette and Wayne, who, although they were reinforced nearly every day by militia corps, had no intention of risking an action. On the 4th of July Cornwallis marched from Williamsburg to a ford across James River, and sent part of his army to the opposite bank in the direction of Portsmouth. On the following day these

operations were continued, and the wheel-carriages were transported to the other side. On the 6th the bât-horses and baggage were all passed over. Lafayette, who fancied that nothing was left on his side the river but the rear-guard of the British army, now came on by forced marches to strike a blow. Cornwallis, warned of his approach, ordered his pickets to allow themselves to be driven in, in order to confirm the Frenchman's belief. Some of our outposts were attacked by four in the afternoon; but Lafayette did not make his appearance till near sunset, when he and Wayne came down to the bank with 900 regulars, 600 militia, and some artillery, and began to form in front of the British camp. When they found out their error, and that, instead of a rear-guard, the main body of the British were there, drawn up in two lines, and ready to receive them, they would gladly have been gone; but it was too late. Lafayette was routed, his cannon were taken, and his people fled in great confusion behind a morass. He retired up the river, and on the following day Cornwallis crossed the river and repaired to Portsmouth.

At Portsmouth Lord Cornwallis embarked the troops that were required at New York; but before they sailed he received fresh orders from the commander-in-chief, Sir Henry Clinton, to keep them where they were, as he had no longer any fear of Washington or Rochambeau. Sir Henry also directed Cornwallis not to think of quitting the Chesapeake, but to occupy a good defensive post, and one capable of protecting ships of the line, somewhere on the neck of land on which Williamsburg is situated, suggesting that probably such a post might be found either in Old Point Comfort or York Town on York River. Clinton, moreover, admitted that as soon as the season permitted he might probably send more troops to the Chesapeake. His lordship resolved to proceed to fortify York Town on York River; and the evacuati of Portsmouth having been completed on the 20th August, his lordship's entire force was concentrated York and Gloucester on the 22nd. Eight days after the Count de Grasse arrived in the Chesapeake, with

the new French fleet, consisting of twenty-eight sail of the line and several frigates, having on board 3200 land-troops brought from the West Indies. Sir George Rodney had not been able to intercept de Grasse; but he despatched Sir Samuel Hood to New York with fourteen ships of the line, which, with the fleet then at New York, it was thought, would be a match for any force the count could bring. Hood arrived at Sandy Hook on the 28th of August, and found only seven ships of the line in the harbour at New York, under the command of Admiral Graves, Arbuthnot having returned to England a short time before. Of these seven ships only five were ready for sea, the other two being under repair; but, as it was now ascertained that de Grasse was in the Chesapeake, or making for it, Admiral Graves came out, joined his five ships to Sir Samuel Hood's fourteen, and, taking the command as senior officer, sailed from Sandy Hook on the 31st of August, with sanguine expectations of first cutting off the French Rhode Island squadron, now under the command of M. de Barras, who had ventured out to sea, and then beating de Grasse, whose force he believed to be far weaker than it was. But in all this Graves failed, and after fighting a partial and not very spirited battle with de Grasse, he returned to New York.

As it had been previously concerted that the whole united power of the Americans and their allies was to be directed against York Town, Washington determined to intrust the defence of the Hudson to General Heath, and to take himself the chief command of the army collected and collecting on the Chesapeake and York River. All the French under Rochambeau, and a detachment of 2000 men from the army of the north, were destined for this service. For some time Sir Henry Clinton thought that Washington was not going to the south at all, but was intending once more to make an attempt upon New York, while Lafayette and the naval force of France were blockading Lord Cornwallis. But this latter blockade, however successful it might be, was not likely to gratify the great revenge of the Americans

by putting Arnold in their power—for that general had left Virginia shortly after the arrival of Lord Cornwallis, and was now safe at New York. And when Sir Henry Clinton became at last aware of the real intentions of Washington, he thought no man more likely to perform a service that might induce Washington to retrace his steps towards the north than Benedict Arnold. On the 6th of September, Arnold landed in Connecticut—the country of his birth—with two British regiments, a battalion of New Jersey volunteers, a detachment of German rifles, and some artillery; and very soon set the whole country in a blaze. Fort Trumbull, Fort Griswold, and other American works were stormed, taken, and destroyed, together with a vast number of cannons, muskets, pikes, &c., and large supplies of ammunition. New London was reduced to ashes; and all the shipping in that port was burned. But terrible as was this blow, it did not check the southward march of Washington. He went on to the head of the Elk River, which falls into the Chesapeake.

While fleets and armies—Frenchmen from Rhode Island and the West Indies, and Americans from north, south, east, and west—were gathering round him, Lord Cornwallis continued to fortify his positions as well as he could, and to indulge in the hope that Sir Henry Clinton would be enabled, by means of the arrival of Admiral Digby, to co-operate with him and bring round to the Chesapeake such a force of men and ships as would turn the scale entirely in favour of the British.

York Town, as it was called, was nothing but a small village on the south side of the river York, standing where the long peninsula between the York and the James is only eight miles wide. The southern bank of York River is high; and on the opposite shore, on tongue of land projecting far into the river and narrowing it to the space of one mile, stands Gloucester, another village, which Cornwallis had also occupied and fortified. The communication between these two posts, and that passage of the river which was deep enough to admit the largest ships of the line, was commanded by

batteries which his lordship had erected, and by a squadron of British ships, unfortunately very small, which lay under his guns. The main body of his army was encamped on the open grounds round about York Town, within a range of outer redoubts and fieldworks, calculated to command the peninsula and impede the advance of the assailants, but both too weak and too extensive to be defended by such an army: and Lieutenant-Colonel Dundas held the post at Gloucester Point, on the opposite side of the water, with a detachment of 600 or 700 men. It was on the 28th of September that the combined army of French and Americans appeared in sight, having marched from Williamsburg that morning. In the evening an express arrived with despatches from Sir Henry Clinton at New York, bearing date the 24th of September, and informing Cornwallis that, at a council of war held that day, it had been agreed that upwards of 5000 troops should be embarked on board the fleet, and that every exertion should be made both by the army and navy to relieve his lordship. The despatch further stated that the fleet, consisting of twenty-three sail of the line, might be expected to sail by the 5th of October; and a postscript was added to state that Admiral Digby had really arrived a few hours before. But, instead of six ships of the line, Digby had brought only three; so that the inequality of force remained very great, Graves having only twenty-six ships to carry to the Chesapeake against the thirty-five ships of de Grasse and de Barras. After receiving those despatches, Cornwallis, under cover of night, withdrew his army from the outer works. On the next day, September the 30th, the works he had evacuated were occupied by strong detachments from the combined army; and 2000 men, French and Americans, the former under the Duke de Lauzun, the latter under General Weedon, took up a position in front of the British at Gloucester Point. As de Lauzun approached the lines there, Colonel Dundas sallied and made a brilliant charge, which cost the duke a good number of men. In the course of the same day York Town was regularly invested; and in the course of the following night

the York Town side. But they were scarcely landed when a violent storm arose, which prevented the boats from returning, and deranged the whole scheme. At break of day the enemy's batteries were opened on York Town, and, in the divided state of the British force, there were not people enough to man the lines. Lord Cornwallis recalled the troops which had been embarked in the boats, and, as the wind moderated, they got back in the course of the forenoon without great loss. In the meanwhile the British works were knocked to pieces, so that not a gun could be fired from them, and the last of the bombs and shells were counted, and found not to exceed 100. After consulting with his engineers and other officers, who were all of opinion that the place was assailable in many places, and that it would be madness to stand an assault with a garrison exhausted by incessant fatigue, and reduced by sickness even more than by the heavy fire of the French and Americans, Cornwallis, about the hour of noon on the 17th, beat a parley, and proposed a cessation of hostilities for twenty-four hours, in order that commissioners might meet in the rear of the first parallel to settle terms for the surrender of the posts of York and Gloucester.

On the 18th Washington dictated the terms of capitulation. By those articles the army, artillery, money-chest, and stores of every denomination, were surrendered to General Washington for the United States; but the ships and seamen to the Count de Grasse, for his most Christian majesty Louis XVI. On the day previous to the surrender, the rank and file of the British garrisons amounted to 5950; but of these only 4017 were reported fit for duty. They had lost about 500 men in killed and wounded during the siege. The French and Americans had lost about an equal number; but, owing to tl constant arrival of recruits, volunteers, and militia-me they had at the end of the struggle nearly 18,000 m under arms.*

In the meantime Sir Henry Clinton had embarked

* Stedman.—Gordon.—Ramsay.—Marshall.—Letters of Washington and Lafayette.

7000 men of his best troops to succour Cornwallis; but owing to sundry delays, the causes of which do not seem to be sufficiently explained, the fleet did not leave Sandy Hook until the 19th of October, the very day on which the capitulation was completed at York Town: and it was the 24th before it reached the capes of Virginia, where Clinton received some vague accounts which led him to suspect the sad truth. Admiral Graves, who had now twenty-five ships of the line, two 50-gun ships, and eight frigates, to oppose to de Grasse's thirty-six sail of the line and nine frigates, did not venture up the Chesapeake, but lay off the mouth until the 29th, when he and Clinton agreed to return to New York, it having been fully proved to them that they had come too late to be of any service to Cornwallis. Soon after the surrender of Cornwallis, Count de Grasse hastened down the Chesapeake and then made all sail for the West Indies. He, however, left the French troops he had brought, who continued in Virginia with Rochambeau's army from Rhode Island. Greene's reinforcement, under the command of General St. Clair, were marched off by land, with orders to capture Wilmington on their way. In that direction Lord Rawdon had continued to make a good stand, though the British posts were assailed simultaneously by Greene's army, and by strong bodies of militia and volunteers from the mountains. After gaining the victory at Hobkirk's Hill, Lord Rawdon saw himself under the necessity of abandoning Camden and concentrating all the forces in South Carolina, except the garrison of Charlestown, within a narrow compass. Fort Watson, a post on the Santee river, with a small garrison without any artillery, was compelled to capitulate on the 23rd of April. But, after an extraordinary march, 500 men succeeded in joining Rawdon, who then went in pursuit of Greene, who was encamped behind Twenty-five-mile Creek. Greene was warned of his approach, and retreated to a greater distance and to a much stronger position, where Rawdon could not attack him. About the middle of May his lordship stationed himself at Monk's Corner, considerably nearer to Charlestown than

was his old post at Camden; for the garrison of the capital of South Carolina was numerically weak, more than half of the inhabitants of the neighbourhood were again taking up arms against the British, and it was necessary to cover and protect the part of the country from which alone forage and supplies could be drawn. In consequence of this retreat several small forts on the rivers were reduced by Colonel Lee, Sumter, and Marion. Extending his operations, Greene detached a considerable [illegible] his army to lay siege to Augusta, in Upper Georgia, and marched himself to reduce Ninety-Six.

The opportune arrival of three regiments from Ireland enabled Rawdon to strengthen the garrison of Charlestown and his own little army; and he was soon coming on, with all the expedition that the intense heat of the weather would permit, with about 1800 foot and 150 horse. General Greene determined not to wait his arrival, unless he could carry Ninety-Six by assault previously. Abandoning, therefore, the scheme of regular approaches, he, on the morning of the 18th of June, began a heavy cannonade, and at noon sent out two parties to make a lodgment in the ditch and storm the works. But both these parties were repulsed with dreadful loss, the besieged sallying forth and bayoneting them in the ditch. After this failure Greene, who had already sent off his baggage, and who knew that Lord Rawdon must be near, abandoned the siege and retreated with great expedition towards the river Saluda. He had lost more than 150 men, besides militia, in his fruitless attempt upon Ninety-Six, where the garrison had twenty-seven killed and fifty-eight wounded. Rawdon arrived early in the morning of the 21st of June, and, finding Greene gone, he resolved to pursue him in spite of the scorching heat, and the fatigue he had already gone through in his rapid advance to Ninety-Six; and that same evening the trumpet sounded boot and saddle, and the small cavalry corps set off and was closely followed by the infantry. His lordship conducted them as far as the river Ennora, but he could not overtake any part of Greene's army. He then returned to Ninety-Six and

ordered the evacuation of that post, as being too remote to be supported. Dorchester was abandoned before their approach; but Monk's Corner, which Lord Rawdon intended to maintain as a part of his new line of posts, was gallantly defended by Colonel Coates, and Lee was there foiled and defeated. In that sultry climate, war, as we have seen, is suspended by summer heat, as in other climates by winter cold. It was now the middle of July, and neither army could any longer support active operations. Moreover, Lord Rawdon's own health seemed seriously affected; and in this interval of inactivity he availed himself of a permission obtained some time before to embark for Europe. At his departure the command of the small army in the field fell to Colonel Stuart, who had only recently arrived in the country with the 3rd regiment, called the Buffs. During the rest of the month of July, and the whole of the scorching month of August, nothing was done or attempted by the regular army; but there was no cessation to the fierce hostilities carried on between the inhabitants, who were waging war in its most savage forms, and really making it a war of extermination. "The whole country," said General Greene, "is one continued scene of blood and slaughter."

At this moment the British authorities of Charlestown resolved to proceed against one Colonel Hayne, who, after subscribing a declaration of allegiance, and accepting British protection, had taken up arms as soon as there was a chance of so doing with success, had penetrated within seven miles of Charlestown, and had captured one Williamson, a colonel of loyal militia. This Hayne had been overtaken by some British cavalry, with Williamson as his prisoner and with arms in his hands, and he had been carried into Charlestown and consigned to the provost-marshal for having resumed his arms after accepting British protection. The court of inquiry maintained that, having been taken in arms, he was liable to be hanged *instanter*, without any other form of trial than what was necessary to identify his person, and all the mercy that could be obtained was a respite for forty-eight hours. Hayne then petitioned to

be shot as a soldier, instead of being hanged; but it was determined to refuse to him the last prayer which had not been granted to the unfortunate André. On the 4th of August he was led forth to the gallows with his arms pinioned behind him. Lord Rawdon, whose whole character and disposition was generous, humane, and chivalrous, was held up to execration, not merely by the republicans in America, but also by the leaders of the opposition in England, for having permitted the hanging of Hayne; but his lordship, in a letter addressed to Colonel Lee, upon the publication of that American officer's book,* exonerated himself by showing that he was at the moment about to sail for Europe; that Lieutenant Colonel Balfour commanded at the time in Charlestown; and that he (Lord Rawdon) had really been desirous of saving Hayne's life.†

During the intense heats nothing took place but a few skirmishes between the cavalry who met by accident in their foraging excursions. The two armies were within sixteen miles of each other; for Lieutenant-Colonel Stuart had again advanced the British to the Congaree, and had encamped them near the point where that river joins the Wateree. As the cooler season approached, Greene prepared to recommence active operations; and at the beginning of September he broke up his camp on the high hills of Santee, crossed the Wateree near Camden, and marched towards Friday's Ferry. On his advance Lieutenant-Colonel Stuart retired to Eutaw, about forty miles from the Congaree, to meet a convoy of provisions and some slight reinforcements that were on the road from Charlestown. Greene followed the British towards Eutaw, but by very slow marches, in order to give time to Marion, who was returning from one of his flying expeditions, to rejoin him. Marion came up on the 7th of September, when Greene was only seven miles fi

* View of the Campaign in the Carolinas.

† Gordon.—Stedman.—Ann. Register.—Marshall, Lir Washington. Marshall seems to admit that Lord Rawd letter was unanswerable.

Stuart. It was instantly determined to risk a battle; and at four o'clock on the following morning Greene began to march with his whole force upon the British positions at Eutaw. The advance of the Americans was unexpected and very rapid; and their approach was concealed by the hilly and thickly-wooded nature of the country. Nearly one-third of Colonel Stuart's force had been sent out, without their arms, to search for roots and vegetables: they were surprised, and cut to pieces or made prisoners almost to a man. This disaster was followed by some others, and at one moment victory seemed to declare for Greene. But, after a tremendous struggle, Colonel Stuart drove the Americans from the field with great loss, and Greene retreated to a strong position seven miles off. The battle of Eutaw was our farewell greeting to the Americans, for no other considerable contest took place during this war. It proved, at least, that the spirit of our troops was as high and as good as ever; and in this light only was it of any importance.

Farther to the south, beyond the limits of the Carolinas and of Georgia, the Spaniards, after suffering some tremendous losses, had succeeded in destroying the British dominion, and Florida, which, next to Canada, was the principal acquisition made during the last war by the British, remained to the Spaniards—an uneasy possession, which was speedily coveted, and eventually secured, by the United States. Such were the main events of the year on the American continent, whence we proceed to the islands of the West Indies.

Early in the year Admiral Rodney, with a land-force commanded by General Vaughan, made an attempt to recover the island of St. Vincent, which had been taken by the French the year before. This was not attended with success; but almost immediately afterwards they captured the Dutch island of St. Eustatius, which, though small, and by nature unfertile, was a place of great wealth and commercial importance, being a free port and general depôt of West Indian and American produce, the property of different nations, neutrals as well as belligerents. The value of the capture was immense; the goods and mer-

chandise of all descriptions were estimated at more than 3,000,000*l.* sterling; and about 250 vessels, many of them with rich cargoes on board, were taken in the port. Moreover, two ships of the line and a frigate, which Rodney detached in pursuit of a fleet of thirty Dutch West Indiamen that had just left the island for Europe under convoy of one ship of the line, overtook and captured every vessel of them. General Vaughan kept the Dutch colours flying at St. Eustatius, and thus decoyed into the harbour a considerable number of Dutch, French, and American vessels, traders or privateers, who were all taken without any trouble. The small neighbouring islands of St. Martin and Saba were also captured, and the Dutch settlements on the rivers of Demerara and Essequibo, in Guiana, after losing all their shipping and most of their property, submitted to the governor of Barbadoes. In order to check Count de Grasse, whose arrival in the Chesapeake had been attended with such serious consequences, Rodney detached Hood and Drake from St. Eustatius with seventeen sail of the line; but this force, after a partial action, retreated in the night from de Grasse's twenty sail of the line; and, while the count pursued his course, the Marquis de Bouillé suddenly appeared off the island of St. Lucia, and landed some troops. In this attempt the marquis failed; but he was fully successful in an expedition against Tobago, which, though bravely and ably defended by Governor Ferguson, capitulated in the month of July.

In another direction the Dutch suffered somewhat severely, though far less than had been anticipated by the British cabinet, who already aimed at dispossessing them of the Cape of Good Hope, and of all their factories in the East Indies.

In Europe the Spaniards not only continued—at times with a glimmering of success—their siege of Gibralta but also undertook the reduction of the island of Minor The court of Versailles, though not with very go will, consented to co-operate, and the Duke of Crillo a Frenchman, was appointed to the chief command of t expedition, which was prepared with great skill a

caution, in order to take the British garrison by surprise. On the 22nd of July the grand united fleets of France and Spain sailed out of Cadiz Bay; and, while the mass of this great force stretched out into the ocean as if with the intention of making a descent upon England, two ships of the line, several frigates, and a swarm of transports with 8000 land-troops on board, and with stores and ordnance, hurried through the Straits and appeared unexpectedly on the coast of Minorca. On the 19th of August the troops, favoured and openly assisted by the islanders and unopposed by the British, effected their landing, occupied all the posts round Port Mahon, and compelled General Murray, with his weak garrison of two British and two Hanoverian regiments, to retire into Fort St. Philip, the principal defence of Minorca. The Duke of Crillon, in pursuance of instructions from the court of Madrid, impudently offered General Murray a bribe of 100,000*l.* sterling, and rank and employment in the French or Spanish service, if he would surrender the fort and save him the loss, labour, and delay of a siege or blockade. The high-minded Scotsman indignantly replied, "When your brave ancestor was desired by his sovereign to assassinate the Duke of Guise, he returned the answer which you should have done when the King of Spain charged you to assassinate the character of a man whose birth is as illustrious as your own or that of the Duke of Guise. I can have no other communication with you but in arms. If you have any humanity, pray send clothing to your unfortunate prisoners in my possession; leave it at a distance, to be taken up for them; because I will admit of no contact for the future, but such as is hostile in the most inveterate degree." Crillon soon found that his men and materials were insufficient for the reduction of Fort St. Philip; but in the course of the autumn he was reinforced by 4000 French troops despatched from Toulon, with good artillery and engineer officers, more ordnance, and other requisites for the siege. Yet, notwithstanding this great accession to the strength of the besiegers, General Murray held out most

manfully; and the year ended without seeing the Spanish flag hoisted on Fort St. Philip.*

In the meanwhile the grand combined fleets which had come out of Cadiz Bay, and which consisted of thirty Spanish ships of the line, commanded by Cordova and Gaston, and nineteen French ships of the line, commanded by de Guichen, de Beausset, and de la Motte Piquet, accompanied by a number of frigates and smaller vessels both French and Spanish, had continued their course to the English coast, and occupied the mouth of the Channel. Admiral Darby had sailed from Spithead on a cruise to the westward with the Channel fleet about a month before the arrival of the French and Spaniards; but, on the 26th of August, he returned and got safely into Torbay, while the enemy were chiefly engaged in picking up prizes and capturing a number of the English ships that were bringing home part of the money and property seized at St. Eustatius. Darby had only twenty-three sail of the line, twelve frigates, and six fire-ships, yet the French and Spaniards would not venture to attack him in the bay. De la Motte Piquet, with six sail of the line, returned to Brest with the prizes which had been made in the Channel, and sickness and dissension again broke out in the rest of the ships of the combined fleets; and they all returned to port in a short time without performing any deed worthy of notice. But there had been harder fighting between the English and Dutch, who had never met at sea without a stern contest. On Sunday, the 5th of August, Rear-Admiral Sir Hyde Parker fell in with Admiral Zouttman, with a convoy of Dutch traders, off the Dogger Bank. This action, though upon a small scale, was conducted and fought in such a manner as to recall afresh to the memory those dreadful sea-fights between England and Holland which had been witnessed in the last century.

Not a single gun was fired on either side until with

* Coxe.—Florida Blanca's Representation, as quoted r Coxe.—Ann. Regis.

half musket-shot. The 'Fortitude,' Sir Hyde Parker's ship, being then abreast of the 'de Ruyter,' Admiral Zouttman's ship, the action began with a deadly steadiness, which was never relaxed during three hours and forty minutes. At the end of that time the two fleets fell asunder in a most shattered condition, and lay to for a considerable time in order to refit. They were close to each other, and Parker expected a renewal of the action; but, as soon as his ships were made manageable, Zouttman wore round, and with all the sail he could carry bore away for the Texel. Parker could not pursue him with any hope of success; but the next day his frigates discovered the 'Hollandia,' a 68-gun ship, which had been ruined in the battle, sunk in twenty-two fathoms water, with her top-gallant masts above the surface, and her pendant still flying; and the rest of the fleet were with difficulty kept above water till they reached the nearest port. In this dreadful action the English had 111 killed, and 318 wounded; the Dutch 116 killed, and 382 wounded; and it is said that most of the crew of the 'Hollandia' sank with her when she went down.

Having failed in some overtures of negotiation with Spain, Lord North's cabinet endeavoured to purchase the friendship of the Emperor Joseph II., by offering to open to him the navigation of the Scheldt, and to secure to him other advantages, commercial and political. But Joseph, who had paid another visit to Paris, conceived different notions as to the strength of France, or the weakness of England: he consented to enter into several views and projects of the French cabinet, and, forgetting his former answer to those who urged him to acknowledge the *republic* of the United States—"I am a *royalist* by profession,"—he began to testify a desire for the triumph of the Americans; and, after some subterfuges and affected concealments, he openly declared his accession to the Armed Neutrality. After this no reliance could be placed on his mediation, which he continued to offer even while binding himself to the most active enemies of Great Britain.

Thus negotiation seemed hopeless, and the ministry

falling to pieces, when parliament reassembled on the 27th of November.* The speech from the throne, however, was in the same determined language as at the close of the last session. The opposition vehemently opposed the address; and Mr. Fox expressed his horror and astonishment at the audacity of ministers in attempting to prolong a war which they had all along grossly mismanaged. Lord North urged that the American war was prosecuted not to aggrandize the crown, not to make the subjects slaves, but to preserve entire our empire and our venerable constitution; and he again told the House that the American quarrel had been begun, not by the king, but by the parliament; not under the present ministry, but under the administration of his adversaries. "A melancholy disaster," said he, "has, indeed, occurred in Virginia; but are we, therefore, to lie down and die? No, it ought rather to impel, to urge, to animate; for by bold and united exertions everything may be saved; by dejection and despair everything must be lost." On the 30th of November, in the debate on the army estimates, the Opposition had adopted the bold measure, not resorted to since the revolution of 1688, of moving that no supplies whatsoever should be granted until the ministry had given the people some proof of their repentance and amendment—which meant some pledge that the American war should go no farther. In this extreme measure they had been defeated by a majority of considerably more than two to one. But, on the 12th of December, Sir James Lowther, in an uncommonly crowded House, moved two resolutions:—1. To declare that the war carried on in the colonies and plantations of North America had been ineffectual to the purposes for which it had been undertaken. 2. That it was the opinion of the House, that all further attempt to reduce the Americans to obedience by force wou

* The official intelligence of Lord Cornwallis's surrend had reached the cabinet on Sunday, the 25th, at noon. It i said that Lord North's firmness gave way for a short tim under the awful disaster.

be ineffectual and injurious to the true interests of this country. Some twenty or thirty ministerial members spoke or voted with the Opposition on this occasion. Lord North declared that it would neither be wise nor right to *prosecute the war in America on a continental plan; that is, by sending fresh armies to march through the colonies.* Lord North, however, urged that the posts we held in America must be defended; that the British trade must be protected against American privateers; that to adopt Sir James Lowther's resolutions would be to advertise all our enemies of our weakness, and to encourage the Americans beyond measure; and his lordship moved the order of the day, to get rid of the motion altogether. Lord George Germaine, who, next to the king, had been the main manager of the war with the colonies, declared that if the House adopted a motion which went to give up our sovereignty in America, he would instantly retire from office, as he could not but consider the independence of America as another word for the ruin of Great Britain. Nor was this opinion confined to the stanch Tories and personal friends of the king: even now it was held by nearly the whole of the Shelburne section of the Whig opposition; and Dunning, one of the leaders of the Shelburne party, though approving of Sir James Lowther's motion, declared it to be his opinion that the man who should dare propose the recognition of American independence would be guilty of a crime little short of high treason! Nor did even the Rockingham party consider that recognition otherwise than as a terrible though unavoidable calamity—a sure beginning of the end of the might, wealth, and glory of their country! At a very late hour Lord North's motion for the order of the day was carried, but by a majority of only 41, the numbers being 220 to 179.*

A.D. 1782.—During the Christmas recess bad news came flowing in from all quarters; and, soon after the reassembling of parliament, intelligence was received of the

* Ann. Regist.

entire loss of Minorca. After cutting off all supplies from Fort St. Philip, the French and Spanish commanders, impatient at the long resistance made by General Murray, began to assail the works with numerous batteries. Several spirited sorties were attempted by the garrison, and one of them was so successful that Crillon's head-quarters were penetrated, and for a short time kept, by the British. But their numbers were insufficient, and, for want of vegetables, that dreadful disease, the scurvy, added its horrors to those of dysentery and putrid fevers, until the garrison was reduced so greatly that it could no longer furnish the ordinary guards. On the dawn of the 6th of January, the birthday of the Dauphin (the unfortunate child of a hapless father), the Duke of Crillon had opened a tremendous fire on the works from 150 pieces of heavy artillery. Yet General Murray held out till the 5th of February, when he capitulated upon honourable terms.

To this discouraging circumstance were added rumours of the greatly increased danger of Gibraltar, and certain intelligence that St. Eustatius had been taken from the English, not by its old masters the Dutch, but by the French. Even before all these things were known, great popular meetings had been held in London and Westminster, in Surrey, and in other towns and counties, to deprecate the continuance of the war, and to draw up petitions and remonstrances. The West India planters resident in London drew up a particularly strong petition, representing their total ruin as inevitable if an end were not speedily put to hostilities.

The king, at last, reluctantly consented to accept the resignation of Lord George Germaine. Undeterred by his great unpopularity, and by the stigma of the court-martial in his grandfather's time, his majesty, who was well pleased with his services, or, at the least, with l community of sentiment on the grand question of Am rican independence, determined to gratify Lord Geor with the peerage; and Lord George was created Viscou Sackville. Lord North's speeches now became shor and more languid; but, down to the very last momer

he retained his most enviable good humour and exercised his ready wit.

On the 20th of February Fox renewed his attack upon Lord Sandwich. He extended his censure to the whole board of admiralty, and was warmly seconded by William Pitt. He was again outvoted, but this time by a majority of only *nineteen*. At the very next sitting—on the 22nd of February—General Conway moved an address to implore his majesty "to listen to the advice of his Commons, that the war in America might no longer be pursued for the impracticable purpose of reducing the inhabitants of that country to obedience by force; and to express their hopes that his majesty's desire to restore the public tranquillity might be forwarded, and made effectual, by a happy reconciliation with the revolted colonies." Upon a division, at two hours after midnight, ministers had still a majority; but this time it was a majority of only *one*—the votes being 194 to 193. This night's debate may fairly be said to have terminated the American war. On the 27th of February General Conway moved—"That the further prosecution of offensive hostilities for the purpose of reducing the revolted colonies to obedience by force would weaken the efforts of Great Britain against her European enemies, increase the mutual enmity so fatal both to Great Britain and America, and, by preventing a happy reconciliation with that country, frustrate the desire expressed by his majesty of restoring the blessings of peace and tranquillity." Upon this occasion Lord North could scarcely obtain a hearing from the impatient and triumphant opposition, who had ascertained their strength and felt confident of a majority. The attorney-general observed that there were many obstacles to be removed before any government could treat of a peace with America; that several acts of parliament in existence must prove great bars to such an attempt; and he recommended, as the first necessary step, a truce between the two countries. He further declared his intention of bringing in a bill for this purpose; and he moved that the present debate should be adjourned until the 13th

of March. Upon this proposition, at about two o'clock in the morning, the House divided, when ministers were defeated by a majority of *nineteen*, the numbers being 234 against 215. The original question and an address to the king, founded upon the resolution, were then carried without a division; and it was ordered that the address should be presented by the whole House. On the Monday following General Conway rose again, and moved a resolution—"That the House would consider as enemies to his majesty and the country all those who should advise, or by any means attempt, the further prosecution of offensive war on the continent of North America." Neither Lord North nor any other member of the shattered administration offered any great resistance, and the resolution was allowed to be carried without a division. On the very next day—the 5th of March—the attorney-general introduced his plan of a truce with America. Fox, who, in common with the whole opposition, whether Shelburnites or Rockinghamites, was astonished and exasperated at North's still remaining on the treasury-bench, declared that the scheme was a farce; that ministers had no wish for peace; and that nothing but force and punishment would ever make them renounce their old policy. He asserted that there were persons in Europe* fully authorized by congress to conclude a peace between Great Britain and America, but that those persons would not treat or negotiate with the present administration. Lord North told Fox that he would not quit office to gratify his impatience; that he remained to prevent confusion, and the introduction of mischievous, unconstitutional principles; and that he would not resign until it pleased the king to order him, or until the House clearly proved that he must retire. Fox said that the House had already given sufficient proof. The attorney-general's motion was, however, agreed to without a division. In the House

* He meant more particularly Franklin, with whom several members of opposition were maintaining a correspondence.

of Lords the ministeral majority had apparently lost little of its strength. On the 8th of March, North found a small majority even in the Commons.

The interval between the 8th and the 15th of March is supposed to have been employed in various unsuccessful attempts to divide the two great parties in opposition, and to form a coalition with one, or a section of one, of them. But, on the 15th, Sir John Rous moved —"That the House could no longer repose confidence in the present ministers." Lord North now let fall that his only anxiety was for the formation of a prudent, wise, and united administration; and that he would gladly see a coalition of parties for that end, and for the arrangement of a cabinet in which he should have no place himself. Sir John Rous's motion was rejected, though only by a majority of *nine*, the votes being 236 to 227. Some of the country gentlemen, who, though anxious for peace, preserved a lingering affection for their old good-natured chief, were completely puzzled to guess what would follow these protracted struggles and narrow divisions. The capital and the country, and the court perhaps more than all, were excited and anxious. On the 20th of March the minister had a long and private interview with the king at St. James's Palace, whence he drove down in his full court dress and with his blue ribbon over his coat to the House of Commons. It was five o'clock; the House was crowded, and Lord Surrey was only waiting the arrival of the minister to make a motion to the same effect as that which had been made and lost by Sir John Rous on the 15th, and of which notice had been given after the defeat on that day. As North proceeded up the House there was an incessant cry of "Order! order!—places." As soon as he reached the treasury-bench he rose and attempted to address the chair; but Lord Surrey was on his legs, and insisted on his right (conferred by the notice of motion) to speak first. The opposition, not knowing what melodious notes were about to flow from the lips of the prime minister, cried out "Lord Surrey, Lord Surrey—no adjournment!"—North's friends in-

creased the uproar by contrary cries, and great disorder and confusion prevailed for some time in spite of every effort made by the speaker to enforce silence. As soon as some order was restored, it was moved—"That the Earl of Surrey be now heard;" and, as this gave North a right to speak to that question, the opposition was silent while he spoke. He calmly told the House that, if he had been suffered to proceed before, he might have saved them much unnecessary heat and disorder; that he meant no disrespect to the noble lord, but that the object of the intended motion was become unnecessary; and he could now assure them, with authority, *that the present administration was no more*; that his majesty had come to a full determination, and it was for the purpose of allowing time for new arrangements that he was going to move for an adjournment. At first the Opposition seemed to hesitate and doubt; but, after a little delay, it was agreed that Lord Surrey's motion, which they had counted on as a *coup de grâce*, should be dropped, and that the House should adjourn for five days. And then with a smile and a *bon mot*, Lord North quitted the House, in which he had sat for twelve years as the supreme personage. He left office a poorer man than he came into it; and, as his father, the Earl of Guilford, was still living, his income would have been insufficient for the education and maintenance of his six children, and for the support of "his habitual, though unostentatious hospitality," but for the office of lord warden of the cinque poprts, which the king had secured him in.*

On the day after Lord North's resignation the king desired the attendance of the Marquess of Rockingham.† His Majesty was desirous that two of his late ministers,

* See some very interesting communications from I[illegible] Charlotte Lindsay, the youngest and only survi[illegible] daughter of Lord North, in *Lord Brougham's Statesme[illegible] the Times of George III.*

† According to many accounts the king sent, in the [illegible] instance, not for Rockingham, but for Shelburne, and offi[illegible] the latter the premiership.

the Chancellor Thurlow and Lord Stormont, should be continued under the new administration. Rockingham consented as to the first, but put a decided negative upon Lord Stormont. The king could do nothing but submit to the terms proposed by the marquess, who, on his side, was obliged to gratify the Shelburne party as much as his own. He himself became premier as first lord of the treasury; the Earl of Shelburne and Mr. Fox were appointed secretaries of state; Lord Camden, president of the council; the Duke of Grafton, privy seal; Lord John Cavendish, chancellor of the exchequer; Admiral Keppel, who was also created a viscount, first lord of the admiralty; General Conway, commander-in-chief of the forces; the Duke of Richmond, master-general of the ordnance; and Dunning, raised to the peerage by the title of Baron Ashburton, chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster. In the distribution of places, Burke, without a seat in the cabinet, got the pay-office, which, with its then prodigious emoluments, had been held by Rigby for nearly fourteen years; Colonel Barré was gratified by Welbore Ellis's snug place of treasurer to the navy; Thomas Townshend became secretary-at-war in lieu of Jenkinson; and Kenyon was made attorney-general. The Earl of Carlisle was replaced as lord-lieutenant of Ireland by the Duke of Portland; and General Burgoyne, in virtue of his parliamentary exertions and connexions, and in despite of the surrender at Saratoga, was appointed to the chief command of the troops in Ireland. Sir William Howe, who had so mismanaged the early and hopeful stages of the war on the continent of America, was made lieutenant-general of the ordnance; and his brother, Lord Howe, who was more deserving of his appointment, got the command of the grand Channel fleet. All the changes that it was then usual to make took place in the royal household. Nearly all these changes were exceedingly unpalatable to the king. William Pitt, whose eloquence and abilities were worth a high price to any administration, and who had indisputably contributed to the overthrow of Lord North, remained without post or situation. It appears that he

was offered the place of a lord of the treasury, and that he rejected it with disdain.

There were also strong personal jealousies and dislikes between the members of the two confederating parties: the Marquess of Rockingham, who knew that the king, of the two, preferred Lord Shelburne, complained even before the arrangements were completed; and Fox, and still more Burke, who ruled Rockingham, entertained feelings of absolute aversion towards Shelburne, and apparently took little care to conceal them. There were five Rockinghamites and five Shelburnites; the eleventh member of the cabinet, Lord Chancellor Thurlow, being the king's man, and obnoxious alike to both parties. Thurlow alone, with the known disposition of the king, would have been enough to destroy the harmony of the cabinet. It was with great reluctance that Fox consented to take office with Thurlow. Fox, moreover, could not help perceiving that the king on all occasions treated him with great coldness; and Burke, no doubt, thought that he had reason to complain in not obtaining the rank of a cabinet minister, although, in fact, by the great influence he exercised over Lord Rockingham, he became a sort of vice-premier.

On the 28th of March the new arrangements were announced to the House; and, the writs having been moved for new elections to replace such members as had vacated their seats by accepting office, the House adjourned for the Easter holidays, without proceeding to any other business. It was on the 8th of April that the new administration began to try their strength in parliament. The business first brought before them related to the affairs of Ireland, which still continued in a stormy and threatening state. The measures adopted by ministers, and by them carried through both Houses of Parliament with little opposition, and without a si e division, were of a liberal and enlightened kind. It s at this favourable juncture—on the 3rd of May— it Wilkes succeeded in getting the resolution of the h of February, 1769, and all the subsequent proceec s founded upon it, expunged from the journals. He r e

the motion himself, and was seconded by Mr. George Byng. Fox opposed it upon the ground that the House ought to have the privilege of expelling such representatives as they thought unworthy of a seat. For this conduct, and for some slighting expressions held elsewhere, Wilkes never forgave Fox, of whom he continued to speak with great bitterness till his dying day. A few days after the very rotten borough of Cricklade, in Wiltshire, was disfranchised, though not without a hard struggle, particularly in the House of Lords.

The fate of Cricklade and the strong petitions for parliamentary reform got up by the livery of London and the county associations, which still continued their exertions, seemed to give some encouragement to William Pitt in moving, on the 7th of May, for a committee to inquire into the state of the representation in parliament, and to report to the House their observations thereon. Pitt did not adopt the prayer of the petitions for doing away with the Septennial Act; but he demanded, as something vital to the constitution and indispensable to the well-being of the country, the sweeping away of all rotten boroughs, and the establishing an equal representation. Fox supported the motion, and so did Sheridan, Sir George Saville, and other Whig orators; but it was very apparent that the Whig aristocracy now in power were as anxious to quash it as the Tories themselves could have been, and either through their bounden allegiance to that party, or through higher motives of conviction, Burke, Thomas Townshend, and others, were not merely lukewarm, but altogether adverse to the present scheme of reform. The question was met by moving the order of the day, which was carried, though only by a majority of *twenty*, the numbers being 161 against 141.

As early as the 15th of April, the king, as bound by his engagement to Lord Rockingham, sent down a message to the Houses to recommend Burke's plan of economical reform. Burke called this the best of messages to the best of people from the best of kings. In the beginning of May, Burke, as chairman of the

committee appointed to take the scheme into consideration, was directed to move the House for leave to bring in a bill to enable his majesty to pay off the debt on his civil list, to prevent the like in future, and to legalise the retrenchments which his majesty had graciously proposed to make in his household. The bill was accordingly produced, but so mutilated, so changed from the form it wore when presented from the opposition benches, that it was scarcely to be recognised as the same. In the word of his biographer, Burke had "found what most reformers in time discover, that it is easier to propose public correctives when out of office than to carry them into effect when in."* Instead of 200,000*l.* a-year, the calculated amount of the saving he recommended in 1779, the whole of the saving he now proposed amounted only to 72,368*l.*: many places proscribed before were now allowed to remain as necessary or expedient, or decorous to the state: the Duchy of Lancaster, the Duchy of Cornwall, the separate jurisdiction of Wales, were left as they were; the scheme of supplying the royal household by contract, as barracks and hospitals are provided for, was dropped; the ordnance office was declared to be safe for the present in the patriotism and economy of the Duke of Richmond, &c., &c. In the Lords the pillars of the law bent their weight upon the bill as if to crush it. Lord Mansfield, Lord Loughborough, and Chancellor Thurlow gave it a decided opposition. It was nevertheless carried, and received the royal assent.† Burke showed his own disinterestedness by bringing in a bill immediately after for regulating the office of paymaster to the forces, which he then held. Up to his time balances amounting occasionally to the enormous amount of 1,000,000*l.* sterling had been allowed to accumulate in the hand of the paymaster; and not only was the interest lost to the public, but the mone

* Prior.

† The court places, &c., abolished by Burke's bill we about twelve in number. Some of them were the merest sin cures, and they could all be held by members of parliamen

itself was risked and employed by the paymaster for his own private benefit in stock-jobbing, and other speculations. It was this charm of the place which had kept Fox's father, the first Lord Holland of the name, so long in it; and whenever a man had a turn for money-making it was the best of all places! It should be noted that few men ever held it so poor as Burke, who, but for the munificence of the Marquess of Rockingham, would have had for years a hard struggle to live. The bill passed, not, we suspect, without a sigh from some who knew by how frail a tenure Burke held the place, and who might hope, in another shifting of the cards, to get it for themselves or their friends. He also, as treasurer of Chelsea Hospital, gave up the profits upon clothing the pensioners, amounting to some 700*l.* a-year.

Shortly before he became foreign secretary, Fox had more than once insinuated in the Commons that he possessed the means of detaching the Dutch from the French; but when he came to try his powers, his overtures were received by the States-General with coldness, if not with contempt.

But a more mortifying circumstance still, and one which Fox had time to know before quitting office, was that the Americans, whose moderation and magnanimity he had so often applauded from the opposition benches, met his overtures for pacification with a coldness even greater than that of the States-General. The predictions of Lord North were fulfilled; the Whigs had made the enemies of England bold and insolent, by votes in parliament that she could and would no longer fight them. Fox found himself obliged to submit to the humiliation of courting the half-offered mediation of the Czarina Catherine and the Emperor Joseph, who literally insulted England while pretending a desire to serve her. In the first place, however, Fox despatched Mr. Thomas Grenville to Paris to open in a private capacity a direct negotiation with the court of France, and he then empowered Sir Robert Murray Keith to commence a negotiation under the auspices of the emperor and the Czarina, instructing him, however, to avoid

making Vienna the real scene of treaty. The chief terms which Fox proposed were the recognition of the independence of the thirteen American colonies, and for the rest a *status quo ante bellum*. Though France was on the very verge of a national bankruptcy, and Spain almost drained to her last dollar, they would not, at present, listen to these terms; for they first expected prodigies from their great fleet in the West Indies under Count de Grasse, and the Spaniards, after nearly four years' perseverance in the siege, fancied that Gibraltar must be theirs at last.

No progress had been made in these negotiations, or towards that peace which had seemed of such easy attainment to ministers when they were on the opposition side and Lord North on the treasury benches, when the death of the Marquess of Rockingham put an end to the cabinet. The marquess, whose health had been for some time declining, died on the 1st of July, while parliament was still sitting. The king instantly sent for Lord Shelburne, who still scrupled about recognising American independence, and placed him at the head of the cabinet. Fox, though almost in a desperate state of poverty, instantly threw up his place; and Burke, Lord John Cavendish, and Lord John Townshend followed his example. Fox, indeed, had declared, even before Rockingham's death, that he would not long consent to act in a situation in which he was hampered and thwarted. The king received his resignation with very apparent satisfaction, and appointed Mr. Thomas Townshend, soon after created Lord Sydney, to succeed him as foreign secretary. Lord Grantham got the other secretaryship, which had been held by Shelburne; and William Pitt, who had so recently been offered a mere lordship of the treasury, was raised to the eminent post of *chancellor of the exchequer*. Colonel Barré, the old satellite Chatham, was made paymaster of the forces instead Burke, and Dundas took Barré's place of treasurer the navy. The promotion of Thomas Townshend to one of the secretaries of state made way for Sir George Yonge to the secretaryship-at-war. Other substitutions

were made in the boards of treasury and admiralty: Mr. Lee was succeeded as solictor-general by Mr. Pepper Arden; and the Duke of Portland, resigning the lord-lieutenancy of Ireland, was succeeded by the Earl of Temple, formerly George Grenville, the nephew and heir of Chatham's brother-in-law, who died in 1779. The first and most obvious reflection, suggested by these changes was, that Lord Shelburne's ministry was not likely to have strength enough to stand in face of the enmity and opposition of the displaced Rockinghamites; and that therefore a return to a Tory system of government would not be a very remote event. Hence Fox, Burke, and their friends were accused of heat and precipitancy, and of having committed the whole Whig cause by their animosities against Lord Shelburne and their sudden resignation. On the 9th of July Fox defended his conduct in the House of Commons, alleging that it was impossible to act with honour and benefit to the country either under, or in conjunction with, Lord Shelburne. The matter which opened this debate was of a sufficiently striking and irritating kind. It had been discovered that the late administration, though so loud for economical reform, had conferred upon that rough-tongued patriot, Colonel Barré, the disproportionate and enormous pension of 3200*l.* a-year, and upon the wealthy Dunning, now Lord Ashburton, a pension of 4000*l.* a-year. These things were the more remarked, as the same administration had voted Rodney for his great victory over de Grasse only 2000*l.* a-year. Fox declared that Lord Shelburne had opposed, and would still oppose, the independence of America, without which there could be no peace; and in the flow and dash of his eloquence he predicted, that, in order to maintain the power he had now acquired, Shelburne would be base enough *to enter into a coalition even with Lord North.* The new chancellor of the exchequer, Pitt, arraigned the conduct of the late secretary, Fox, in severe terms, accusing him of being more at variance with men than with their measures, and of having resigned in pique and without any good public ground.

Two days after—on the 11th of July—the king prorogued parliament.

While the French fleet under de Guichen, which Admiral Kempenfelt was too weak to intercept, was proceeding to the West Indies, Rodney, who had the start of them by a few days, was making with all haste for the same quarter. Rodney arrived at Barbadoes on the 19th of February, and soon after put to sea with the intention of joining Sir Samuel Hood, who had been attempting the relief of our island of St. Christopher, assailed by the Count de Grasse and a land force under the Marquis de Bouillé. On his passage Rodney met Hood returning from St. Christopher's, which had surrendered in spite of his efforts to save it. In making these efforts Hood, with only twenty-two ships of the line, had gallantly risked an action with de Grasse, who had thirty-three sail of the line, had skilfully dispossessed the French of their anchorage ground, and had repulsed, with terrible loss to them, two attacks made to regain it. But having no land-troops, Hood could not dislodge de Bouillé from St. Christopher's, the fall of which was immediately followed by that of two more of our islands—Nevis and Montserrat. Upon Hood's information that de Grasse had proceeded to Martinique to prepare for a grand attack on Jamaica, almost the last of our islands, and the richest of them all, Rodney ran with the whole British fleet to St. Lucie, and threw out his frigates to watch the French in Martinique. On the 5th of April intelligence was received that de Grasse was embarking troops, and on the 8th, at day-break, a signal announced that his fleet was coming out from Port Royal Bay. Upon this the whole British fleet weighed anchor, and proceeded with a press of sail in pursuit. Although it was obviously the design of de Grasse to avoid an engagement. and to seek the junction of a Spanish fleet, then at H paniola, which was to co-operate in the reduction Jamaica, and which would have raised his force to near sixty ships of the line, he was tempted, on the 9th, b the separated, exposed position of the British van, an he bore down upon Hood with his whole force, hopir

to destroy him before the centre and the rear could come up to his assistance. At one time—at about nine o'clock in the morning—Hood's ship, the 'Barfleur,' had three sail of the line firing upon her, and nearly every ship of his division was exposed to the same unequal contest; but they all behaved nobly, their steady fire, apparently, inflicting more mischief than they received; and as soon as the other divisions of the British fleet got the wind, and the centre came up, de Grasse withdrew, and, having still the advantage of the wind, he was enabled to baffle all the efforts of Rodney to bring him to a general action. Rodney lay to, the night after the action, to repair the damages which some of the van had suffered, and the next morning made all sail in pursuit. In the course of that day he kept de Grasse in sight, but on the morning of the 11th the French were scarcely visible. Rodney began to despair of coming up with them, when, about the hour of noon, two of their ships of the line which had been crippled in the late action were discovered far to the leeward of the rest. The signal was made for a general chase, and was immediately obeyed by the whole British fleet. It was blowing a fresh and steady gale, and the 'Agamemnon' and some others of the headmost ships would have cut off the two Frenchmen if de Grasse had not hastened to their relief with his entire force. This brought the enemy so far to leeward that Rodney once more hoped that he might force them to battle. But as it was now evening the British admiral called in the foremost ships, and forming a close line of battle, he plied to windward all night. On the following morning —the 12th of April—the two fleets were near each other, and at about seven o'clock they met on opposite tacks. The action was begun by the 'Marlborough,' the leading ship of Rodney's van, and it soon became general from van to rear. About the hour of noon Rodney succeeded in breaking the French line; and about sunset he secured his glorious victory. Scattered, and for the most part crippled, the French fleet went off before the wind in small squadrons and single ships. De

Grasse, in the 'Ville de Paris,' had struck, and was a prisoner. On the following morning, when the British had repaired their damages, the French fleet were entirely out of sight. Rodney attempted to pursue, but was becalmed for three whole days under Guadaloupe. Hood, however, on the 19th, overtook and captured in the Mona Passage, between Hispaniola and Porto Rico, two ships of the line and two large frigates. Thus, in all, the loss of the French amounted to seven ships of the line and two frigates. Their loss in killed and wounded was terrific, for many of their ships had fought at the closest quarters, and at times each with two English line-of-battle ships upon it, and they were all crowded with land-troops, who might have done good service on shore at Jamaica, but who only served to swell the carnage where they were. Jamaica was saved, the power of the allied fleets in the West Indies was ruined, and the dominion of the ocean was once more restored to the British flag.*

The news of Rodney's victory reached London about the middle of May, just after the rejection of Pitt's project of parliamentary reform. It threw the country, so long accustomed to reverses, into a delirium of joy; and if it had happened two months earlier, it might have prevented the overthrow of Lord North's administration and the passing of the pacific votes of the Commons.

On the American continent the news of the defeat of de Grasse, without whose aid they could never have reduced Lord Cornwallis at York Town, filled the whole republican party with dismay, and no inconsiderable part of them with despair. Even Silas Deane confessed that they were apparently as far from peace and independence as ever, and that nothing could be done unless France sent them more assistance and more money. Early in May Sir Henry Clinton was superseded by Sir Guy Carleton, formerly governor and commander-in-chief Canada, who arrived in New York with the pacific vo

* Schomberg, Naval Chron.—Stedman.—Ann. Regist.—Mundy's Life of Lord Rodney.

of the House of Commons, and instructions from the Rockingham administration to open negotiations with congress on the basis of independence. In conjunction with Admiral Digby, Carleton remitted copies of the votes and of the bill enabling the king to conclude a truce, to General Washington, in a letter stating that these papers would show the pacific dispositions of the government and people of England, and that if the same temper prevailed in America the rest would be easy work. Sir Guy also informed Washington that he had a letter ready for congress containing the same communications; and he solicited a passport for a person to convey this letter to Philadelphia. The American commander-in-chief sternly refused the passport and spurned the overtures. He, moreover, rendered any intercourse and communication more difficult by limiting the admission of flags of truce to one particular place. His conduct was fully approved by congress, who, still further to quiet the suspicions of the French envoy, passed a vote on the 21st of May, binding themselves to make no separate treaty, and to entertain no overtures of negotiation except in common with their allies. And for the present all that the friendly advances of the Rockingham administration elicited was a partial exchange of prisoners; for it was not owing to their overtures, but to the weakness, poverty, and wretchedness of the American army, and the formidable positions occupied by the British troops, that hostile operations were suspended.

Those who have been accustomed to entertain a vain vision of American victory, glory, and prosperity, and to believe that they were in a state to continue the war against Great Britain to an indefinite period, must be startled by Washington's own account of the real state of things. On the 28th of May, only a few days after refusing Sir Guy Carleton's messenger a passport to congress, he was obliged to write that his army on the Hudson was left destitute of provisions and in a state of disorder and almost mutiny; and that, if the British knew his real situation, and were to make a sudden attempt, he must be driven from all his posts. Nor did

the condition of the army improve. Early in October he declared that there never was so much suffering or so great a spirit of discontent as at that instant; and in this letter he exclaimed, "It is high time for a peace!" Nor was the American army in the south under General Greene in better case. Both in the north and in the south there were frequent mutinies, and not unfrequent executions in the camp to check them. But Washington now dreaded not only that these executions would fail in their effect, but that even peace would come too late, or that, come when it would, it would be succeeded by a horrible internal social war, as the country had no means of paying the arrears of the army, and as men with arms in their hands might not be disposed to disband at the bidding of congress to retire to poverty or starvation. His letters at the time are full of these gloomy anticipations. The usual interest demanded for money in July was at the rate of 60 per cent. per annum. In this state of things the French army, which had rendered such notable service against Lord Cornwallis, were collected and marched to Boston, where, in the month of October, they were shipped for the West Indies, not to attempt new conquests, but to defend their own sugar islands.* A French squadron under the command of La Perouse destroyed some defenceless British settlements in Hudson's Bay; and the Spaniards captured the Bahama Islands, defended by a few companies of invalids. On the other side, the British captured some Spanish forts on the Mosquito shore, and took from the Dutch—the great losers in this war—all the forts they had on the African coast, except Cape Town and a few places in its neighbourhood. In the East Indies the affairs both of the Dutch and of the French, who had made extraordinary and most costly exertions to expel the English by means of Hyder Ally, were going to utter ruin; the victories of Sir Eyre Coote and Commodore Hug

* Letters to Washington.—Lafayette's Memoirs and Letters.—Life of General Greene.—Various American Memo —Gordon.

contributed very importantly to make the court of Versailles—the real supporter of the war—desirous of peace.

On the 13th of April, the very day after Rodney's great victory, Admiral Barrington sailed from Spithead for the Bay of Biscay with twelve sail of the line; and, on the 20th, he discovered seventeen or eighteen sail of large merchantmen and transports, under the escort of two French ships of the line and a frigate. This fleet, which had left Brest only the day before to carry supplies and reinforcements to the West Indies, was hotly pursued; and, in the course of the 20th and the 21st, the two French ships of the line, ten large transports, and a schooner, were captured by the British.

On the 5th of May the Dutch, who had claimed the affair off the Dogger-bank as a victory, but who had hardly ventured to show themselves at sea since, crept out of the Texel with nine sail of the line, with the double object of escorting a convoy of their own, and cutting off our Baltic fleet; but Lord Howe left Spithead with twelve sail of the line, and as soon as they learned that he was at sea, the Dutch ran back into the Texel. After blockading that water for about a month, Howe was recalled to look after the combined fleets of France and Spain, which had come out of Cadiz. On the 28th of June his lordship sailed to the westward with twenty-one ships of the line and four frigates, having taken under his orders Vice-Admiral Barrington and Rear-Admiral Kempenfelt. In a few days he discovered the French and Spanish with thirty-six sail of the line besides frigates; and, undeterred by their great superiority of force, he formed a line of battle a-head. But the combined fleet declined the challenge, and Howe was allowed to protect the arrival in our ports of some great fleets of merchantmen.*

It was on his return from this cruise that Howe was appointed to a service which has rendered his name immortal in the annals of his country. Gibraltar was again considered in danger, and the service was to re-

* Sir John Barrow, Life of Earl Howe.—Schomberg.

lieve that important place, the prolonged defence of which, under the brave and skilful General George Augustus Eliott, was by far the most memorable and glorious achievement of the British in this generally mismanaged war. In the month of April, the Duke of Crillon, the captor of Fort St. Philip, arrived from Minorca to take the chief command of the besieging army; and he brought with him, or was afterwards joined by, a numerous body of skilful artillery and engineer officers, some French, some Italians, some Germans or Swiss—for ability was sought for and purchased for this great undertaking in nearly every country in Europe, and the most extravagant, and in some instances ludicrous, rewards were offered for the invention of processes which might destroy the more than adamantine works of the old rock. Moreover, from 18,000 to 20,000 French and Spanish troops were added to the besieging army; and princes of the House of Bourbon, with long retinues of French and Spanish nobles, repaired to St. Roque and the Spanish lines, to encourage exertion and to be present at the final triumph. Forty thousand men, and more artillery than had ever been collected on so narrow a point, might justify sanguine hopes in one who had never seen or closely examined the natural and artificial, and almost incredible, strength of the place. This siege fills a history of itself, and a very admirable one has been written of it.* We can merely notice the chief particulars of the final assault. When thousands of projects, some of which seemed to have been conceived in Laputa, had been proposed, and when many had been tried without the least effect, the Chevalier d'Arcon, a French engineer, got a plan adopted which he felt certain was infallible. This was, to construct out of large ships floating batteries that could neither be sunk nor set on fire by red-hot shot, which the British garrison, by long practice, employed with wonderful rapidity and skill. These vessels were to be secured from sinking by the extraordinary thickness of timber with which their keels

* By Colonel Drinkwater.

and bottoms were to be doubled; they were to be made fire-proof by having their sides secured with a rampart or wall composed of timber and cork, with an interstice between filled up with wet sand; and a constant supply of water was to keep all the parts wet, the cork acting as a sponge to retain the moisture. Pumps, cisterns, pipes, were to be placed in all directions to convey the saving fluid wherever a red-hot ball might strike or lodge. To protect these floating batteries from bombs, grape-shot, and all sorts of fire from above—on the sides of the steep rock the garrison had admirable positions for maintaining a plunging fire right on the heads of their assailants—hanging roofs were contrived of strong rope-work netting laid over with a thick covering of wet hides: these roofs were to be worked up and down at pleasure by mechanism, and their sloping position, it was calculated, would throw the shot and shell off into the sea. Ten large ships of from 600 to 1400 tons burden were cut down and prepared according to d'Arcon's devices; 200,000 feet of timber were worked into their construction, and the neighbouring country was swept bare of cow-hides, and bull-hides, and horse-hides, to make the sloping roofs. When the "constructions" were finished they were covered with new brass cannon of unusual weight; and d'Arcon had contrived a sort of match or train which, it was said, would fire a whole broadside at once. These new monsters of the deep, too huge and heavy to move through the water with any alacrity, were to be helped to their stations abreast of the English batteries, and were to be supported by forty gun-boats with long guns, forty bomb-boats mounted with twelve-inch mortars, five large bomb-ketches, and an immense raft mounted like a battery: a swarm of Spanish frigates and smaller vessels were to act as tenders, and from 200 to 300 large row-boats were to keep supplying them with ammunition and fresh men. The combined fleet was to anchor in the bay near its head, and out of the way of the British red-hot balls, until the decisive moment, when every craft, great or small, was to join in the "crack of doom" and assist in

disembarking the land troops on the crumbling or obliterated works. At the same time the army on shore was to maintain an incessant fire with 300 long guns and mortars.

Old Eliott, as firm as the immoveable rock where he commanded, made a more copious distribution of furnaces and grates for heating his cannon-balls, and calmly awaited the event; but, as an intimation of what might be expected from his furnaces and fiery globes, he burnt one of the foremost landworks of the besiegers only a few days before their assault. It was in the morning of the 13th of September that d'Arcon's floating batteries got under weigh, and at nine o'clock they were within gun-shot of the walls, when they were instantly assailed by a fire loud enough to awake the dead. Four hundred pieces of heavy artillery thundered together. The Spanish commanders were not disconcerted, but proceeded to place their craft in a line, so as to be able to open their fire all together; and they were completely moored and in order in little more than ten minutes. The brunt of the assailants' fire was directed against the fortifications on the Old Mole and the South Bastion. For a time their people were steady and intrepid, and hopes were entertained that d'Arcon had really solved the problem, and that success was certain.

"The floating batteries," says an Italian officer engaged, "were so constructed that the shot which pierced their sides or roofs would at the same time pass through a tube which would discharge a quantity of water to extinguish the fire which it might create; but this hope proved fallacious. From nine till two they kept up a constant and well-directed fire, with very little damage on their part; but their hopes of ultimate success became less sanguine when, at two o'clock. the floating battery, commanded by the Prince . Nassau, on board of which was also the engine (d'Arcon) who had invented the machinery, began t smoke on the side exposed to the garrison, and it wa apprehended she had taken fire. The firing, howeve continued till we could perceive the fortifications ha

sustained some damage; but at seven o'clock all our hopes vanished. The fire from our floating batteries entirely ceased, and rockets were thrown up as signals of distress. In short, the red-hot balls from the garrison had by this time taken such good effect, that nothing now was thought of but saving the crews; and the boats of the combined fleet were immediately sent on that service."*

But it was no easy matter to move those unwieldy leviathans from their moorings: and to approach them when they might every moment blow up, and to get within the range of the British batteries, was like going into the jaws of death. Whatever were the attempts made, they appear to have been unsuccessful, for five hours after the floating batteries were still in their old and fatal position, immoveable and helpless. "A little after midnight," says the Italian officer, "the floating battery which had been the first to show symptoms of conflagration burst out into flames, upon which the fire from the rock was increased with terrific vengeance: the light produced by the flames was equal to noon-day, and greatly exposed the boats of the fleet in removing the crews." By this time the only flashes from the floating batteries were the flames that were consuming them—their guns were silenced, and the only sounds on board were shrieks and maddening yells. The sole naval force the British then had at Gibraltar was a marine brigade of gun-boats, under the command of Captain Curtis. These boats had now come out, and by their low fire, almost *à fleur de l'eau*, took the floating batteries in the whole extent of their line, and sank or kept off the French and Spanish boats that were approaching. The land-fire from the Spanish lines, which had swelled the hubbub without doing any mischief,

* This very interesting paper, used by Sir John Barrow, in his life of Howe, was found among the papers of the late Sir Evan Nepean, and sent by his son to Captain Brenton, R. N., who communicated it to Sir John Barrow.

slackened or ceased altogether soon after the sun went down; but the whole of that dark November night was illuminated by the fire of the garrison and of Curtis's gun-boats, and by the ascending flames of d'Arcon's constructions. "During the night," says the Italian officer, who renders full justice to the skill, valour, and humanity of his English opponents, "our batteries were so close to the walls that the hot balls pierced into them full three feet; but being made of solid beds of green timber, the holes closed up after the shot, and, for want of air, they did not immediately produce an effect. At five A.M. one of them blew up with a very great explosion, and soon after, the whole of them, having been abandoned by their crews, were on fire fore and aft." What followed on the part of the conquerors is become a household word—a touching and a sacred tale, which two generations of Englishmen have learnt in the cradle, and which succeeding generations will tell to their children, as the best exemplification of the axiom that the bravest are ever the most merciful. Eliott ordered the guns on shore to hold their fire; and on the water Curtis, with his gallant little crew, dashed among the burning wrecks and braved far greater dangers than they had hitherto been exposed to for the sole purpose of saving the shrieking Spaniards; for many of them were still exposed on the burning rafts, and many more were floating in the bay clinging to spars and fragments. And thus ended all the Chevalier d'Arcon's high-flown hopes and visions of greatness: his "constructions" were involved in total destruction; his 150 brass cannon of large calibre were at the bottom of the sea or in the hands of the English; an enormous sum of money had been worse than thrown away; and, between killed and wounded, and prisoners, nearly 1000 men had been sacrificed. The blow—and well it mig —appears to have affected the poor engineer's intelle He wrote to the French ambassador at Madrid—' have burnt the temple of Ephesus! everything is los and through my fault. What comforts me under m

misfortune is, that the honour of the two kings remains untarnished."*

That the siege was not immediately abandoned was owing only to the knowledge that Eliott's stock of ammunition and provisions was greatly reduced, and to the hope that the combined fleet collected in the narrow bay, with scouts in the Straits of Gibraltar, would prevent any relief. The French and Spanish admirals, indeed, believed that no such attempt would be made, when, on the 24th of September, an express was received from Madrid announcing to them the departure of the British fleet for the relief of Gibraltar. Upon the reception of this intelligence, 2000 land troops were embarked in the ships of the line; but the whole fleet still remained anchored in the bay, nor did they move to the straits' mouth, when, on the 9th of October, they were informed that a British fleet had been seen off Lisbon. The fleet was of course the brave Lord Howe's, which had been increased to thirty-four sail of the line, six frigates, and three fire-ships. On the 11th of October they glided, in a compact mass, between the shores of Europe and Africa, through the Straits of Gibraltar, with the fore-knowledge that the force of the enemy in the bay amounted to fifty sail of the line, besides frigates, smaller vessels, and an infinitude of gun-boats. The current ever flows through the Straits into the Mediterranean with great force, and, as the wind was blowing in the same direction, the transports shot past the not very broad mouth of the Bay of Gibraltar, becoming what sailors call "back-strapped"—a not uncommon accident—that is, they were driven behind the rock. Only four of them got to the appointed anchoring stations in front of the rock near the Old Mole, where they landed their cargoes without any interruption from the combined fleet, which lay at anchor between Algesiras and the Orange Grove. Lord Howe, in the 'Vic-

* Letters as given by Archdeacon Coxe.—Memoirs of Spanish Kings of the House of Bourbon.

tory,' of 100 guns, passed the end of the rock called Europa Point, and hauled up behind to protect the convoy and cover their passage, when the weather should serve, back into the bay. On the morning of the 12th Captain Curtis, who had commanded the brigade of gun-boats, came round from General Eliott in an open boat, and informed his lordship that, in the night of the 10th, the combined fleet huddled in the bay had suffered from a violent gale of wind, which had driven one ship of the line on shore at the Ragged Staff under the guns of Gibraltar,* another ship on shore near the Orange Grove, and another, of the largest size, upon Punta Mala; and which had forced two ships of the line to quit the bay altogether and run up the Mediterranean in the direction of Malaga. On the following day, the 13th, the combined fleet put to sea, with the double purpose of giving protection to their two stray ships in the Mediterranean and of cutting off the supplies for the relief of the garrison before they could be brought round into the bay. But Lord Howe had all his multitude of shipping under his hand in compact order, there were no stragglers, and the accidents of the wind proved most favourable to him. The French and Spaniards, in clearing Europa Point, got into the strong current, and, as the breeze was still in the same course, they were swept far behind the rock and beyond the snug corner where the British fleet lay; and then there came on a calm, which kept them motionless all night off Malaga. And on the morning of the 14th an easterly wind—the wind for which Howe was sighing—springing up suddenly, carried the whole British fleet round Europa Point into the bay and in front of the old rock, in the midst of the shouts and acclamations of the garrison and inhabitants. Two regiments, with an abundant supply of gunpowder

* This was the 'St. Michael,' a fine Spanish ship seventy-two guns, which, with her crew of 650 men some soldiers, was captured by the garrison.

of provisions, were thrown into the place; and, as the operations of landing all these things must occupy a considerable time, his lordship kept guard at the mouth of the bay and right across the sea from Europa Point to the African shore to prevent the return of the French and Spaniards to the ground they had left. Every transport as she discharged her cargo came out of the bay and ran through the straits, which were kept open to them all by Howe's disposition of his forces. By the evening of the 18th the landing of the stores and troops was completed, and most of the convoy was getting out of the straits into the Atlantic. At break of day on the 19th, his important duty being done, Howe began to repass the straits himself with his ships of war, being now closely followed by the combined fleet, who came down from Malaga with the same wind that favoured his passage against the current, and who, under several variations, continued to be between him and the wind, or in possession of the advantage of the weather-gage. On the morning of the 20th both fleets were clear of the straits and in the open ocean. As the enemy gained upon him in the course of the day, Howe formed in order of battle to leeward. As they had the wind, and as it was blowing freshly, the Spaniards and French, who had still forty-five or forty-six sail of the line to oppose to the British thirty-four sail, were left uninterruptedly to take their own distance at which they should think fit to engage; but they testified no anxiety for coming to close quarters, and, indeed, no alacrity in coming into action at all; for it was sunset before they began their cannonade at random-shot distance. They continued their fire, at a considerable distance and with little effect, until ten at night, when they hauled their wind and gave up all idea of battle or further pursuit. They had—at least such of them as had gone near enough—been sorely mauled by the steady fire of some of Howe's ships.*

* Sir John Barrow, Life of Earl Howe.—Ann. Regist.—Captain Schomberg, Nav. Chron.

The ruinous exertions and failures of France in the East Indies, the state of wretchedness and almost helplessness of the Americans, were not so well or so universally known, and great efforts had been made to patch up or conceal the defeat of the French in the West Indies; but all Europe had had their eyes fixed intently on the siege of Gibraltar for at least one whole year, and the miscarriage of that great enterprise, and the exploit of Lord Howe, were rapidly reported to every court, capital, and town. Charles III., who had been led into the war by the hope of regaining not only Gibraltar, but all that Spain had ever lost to England, became most anxious for a peace. The French ministers in their augmenting poverty and embarrassment also were anxious for peace. The Dutch were groaning for an end to the war, and the Empress of Russia, departing from some of her unfavourable prejudices in regard to England, now really began to act as a fair and anxious mediatrix. In the meanwhile the British government, though they had sent no more troops, had ordered an immense naval force to collect on the American coast; and in the month of September there were, at New York alone, twenty-six sail of the line, with frigates, fire-ships, &c. Whatever were the private feelings of Lord Shelburne as to the great question of independence —he subsequently stated that they had undergone a change and had been liberalised by his intercourse with a Frenchman, an abbé-philosophe, an economist, an author, and encyclopædist*—he now sent Mr. Fitzherbert to Paris to take up the thread of the negotiations as they had been left by Mr. Grenville, Fox's nominee, who had been recalled after the breaking up of the Rockingham ministry; and nearly at the same time he despatched to the same capital Mr. Richard Oswald, a merchant and ship-owner, who had formerly had e: tensive commercial dealings with America, and who wa

* The well-known Abbé Morellet, the uncle of the wi of Marmontel. See Lord Shelburne's Letters to the Coun de Vergennes, in Mémoires de l'Abbé Morellet, de l'Aca démie Française, &c.

now authorised to treat with the American agents and commissioners at the court of France—Dr. Franklin, Adams, Jay, and Laurens. Vergennes, the French minister, partly, perhaps, through the habit of his country in diplomacy, partly through a half-malicious and half-selfish desire to embarrass and prolong the negotiations, and in part no doubt to keep the new republic weak and dependent, had recourse to sundry manœuvres, propositions, and counter-propositions. For example, he instigated the Americans to claim a share in our profitable Newfoundland fishery, and he strongly urged the British government to refuse them this concession; and he formed a design to weaken and divide the American states before they should acquire stability by peace. But the English negotiators detected and exposed to the agents of congress his double-dealing about Newfoundland, assuring them that a share in that fishery would be allowed them; and the fortunate capture by an English cruiser of despatches containing Vergennes's project of division and dismemberment enabled the British government to expose that matter also. Mr. Fitzherbert secretly laid the intercepted paper before the American commissioners at Paris. Both Adams and Jay were furious against Vergennes; and, though Franklin was cooler in his indignation towards the French, or hotter in his animosities to England, he agreed in opinion that no time was to be lost in bringing the treaty to a conclusion.*

And, accordingly, on the 30th of November, *at a private meeting, unknown to Vergennes*, they signed separate preliminary articles of peace with England. Vergennes, in his turn, complained of being duped; and felt, or pretended, great indignation at what he called American subtlety and chicanery. He afterwards, in conjunction with Spain, laboured to limit the boundaries to be assigned to the United States, and advised the English

* Jay accused Franklin of a too great subserviency to the will of the French court!—*Life and Opinions of John Jya, by his Son, W. Jay.*

government not to make too ample concessions. But, though Vergennes's affection to the new republic might be exceedingly small, his great object in this last side-scheme was to keep a bone of contention between the parent state and the enfranchised colonies, and to prevent the return to the old friendly feeling and close commercial intercourse.

On the 5th of December parliament met; and the speech from the throne announced that, in pursuit of a general pacification, his majesty had offered to declare the American colonies free and independent states, by an article to be inserted in the treaty of peace. Fox now declared that it had been Lord Shelburne's shifting and changing on the great question of independence that had induced him to quit the cabinet, and he maintained that his lordship ought to have recognised the independence in the first instance instead of reserving it as the condition of peace. But there was no regular opposition to the address in either House. In the Lords, Shelburne, in reply to some strong objections against the preliminaries agreed upon with the American commissioners, declared that the full recognition of independence of the United States was still dependent on the conduct of France, and that if France did not consent to peace, that recognition would be withheld. On the 23rd the House adjourned for the Christmas holidays, the opinion of no very inconsiderable part of it still being that the negotiations with France, Spain, and Holland would fall to the ground, and that a general peace was a distant event. But during the recess, the negotiations came to a pacific end.

A.D. 1783.—On the 20th of January the preliminaries of peace were signed at Paris.*

By these arrangements his Britannic majesty acknowledged the United States to be free, sovereign, and i

* The American signatures were—John Adams, Franklin, John Jay, Henry Laurens. Before signin Franklin is said to have put on triumphantly the dress su which he had never worn since the day of Wedderburn attack in the British privy council.

dependent, relinquishing all claims to the government, propriety, and territorial rights of the same; the boundaries were settled very liberally for the Americans; and they were secured in full liberty to take fish of every kind on the ground bank and on all other banks of Newfoundland, as also in the Gulf of St. Lawrence and all other places in the sea where they had formerly been accustomed to fish. His majesty agreed, with all convenient speed, without causing any destruction or *carrying away any negroes or other property of the Americans*, to withdraw all his armies, garrisons, and fleets from the United States. The navigation of the river Mississippi from its source to the ocean was for ever to remain free and open to the *subjects* of Great Britain and the *citizens* of the United States equally. Franklin, Jay, and all the American commissioners had sternly opposed any compensation to the American Royalists, that unfortunate class of men who had strong claims on the British government; and Franklin had even declared that they would rather risk a war by themselves alone, than consent to any indemnification for the enemies of, and traitors to, their country. A clause was, however, agreed to and inserted in the treaty—certainly with the intention that it should, and with the foreknowledge that it would, remain a dead letter on the other side of the Atlantic—that congress should *earnestly recommend* it to the legislatures of the respective states, to provide for the restitution of all estates, rights, and properties which had been confiscated, belonging to real British subjects; and also the estates, rights, and properties of persons resident in districts in possession of his majesty's arms, and who had not borne arms against the United States; and that persons of *any other descriptions* should have free liberty to go to any part of the states, and therein remain twelve months unmolested in their endeavours to obtain the restitution of such of their estates, &c., as had been confiscated; &c. &c.

The conditions of the treaty which regarded France were—that she should have the right of fishing at Newfoundland, and in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, on the same

footing as at the last peace—only, to prevent future disputes, the limits were more accurately defined and restricted; that she should again be put in possession of the small islands of St. Pierre and Miguelon on the Newfoundland coast; that in the West Indies she should keep Tobago and have St. Lucie restored to her, she on her part restoring to Great Britain Grenada, St. Vincent's, Dominica, St. Christopher's, Nevis, and Montserrat; that on the African coast she should keep Senegal and Goree, Great Britain retaining Fort James and the river Gambia; that in the East Indies she should have back Pondicherry and all that she had lost, together with liberty to carry on her accustomed commerce and also to fortify Chandernagore; and, finally, all the stipulations against fortifying Dunkirk and making it a great port—stipulations which, to very little purpose, had been inserted in so many successive treaties—were omitted and renounced.

Spain procured better terms than she had ever obtained since the peace of St. Quintin. The two Floridas and Minorca were ceded to her, she renouncing all claim to the Bahama Islands, which had been recaptured by the British before the execution of the treaty.

The Dutch agreed to a truce, with the understanding that there was to be a mutual restoration of conquests between them and Great Britain; but the preliminaries were not arranged till nearly eight months after.

No notice whatever was taken in the treaty of the principles of the Armed Neutrality, which no British minister could have ventured to admit.

On the 24th of January, when the preliminaries of peace were laid before both Houses, ministers were attacked with the utmost violence, and the nation was astonished and disgusted by *a close coalition* between those old adversaries *Lord North and Mr. Fox*. Nei the whole Rockingham party had followed Fox, anc was evident that their strange union with North's frie and the great body of the Tories would drive Shelbu from his post. Fox, with all his abilities, could har have succeeded in obtaining better terms of peace; e

he had expressed or implied a readiness to yield quite as much as Shelburne had done in order to put an end to the horrors and expenses of the war; his party had repeatedly declared that a high price must of necessity be paid for the inestimable blessing; but this hindered neither him nor them from going into an extreme condemnation of the whole treaty. In the Commons, the address of thanks to his majesty for ordering the preliminary articles of peace to be laid before the House was moved on the 17th of February by Mr. Thomas Pitt, and seconded by Mr. Wilberforce, at this period the bosom friend of William Pitt. It was opposed by the entire strength of the Coalition, the antagonists in so many fierce debates acting together as if they had always had one will and one principle, and as if Fox and Burke had not a hundred times threatened Lord North with the block for persevering in the war. The first amendment, "to reserve to the House the power of disapproving the conditions of the treaty," was moved by Lord John Cavendish; and Lord North moved the second, which was "to express the regard of the British parliament for the unfortunate American Royalists." It was admitted, however, on all hands, "that the preliminary articles for which the public faith was pledged should be kept inviolate." Ministers urged that a peace was the great desire of parliament and of the country, and that the only thing to be considered was, whether the peace they had been enabled to procure were not preferable to the war which they found raging when they accepted office. In defending their conduct they only made use of arguments which had been worn thread-bare by the Rockingham party, such as the hopelessness of the struggle, the total want of any allies, the rapidly increasing national debt, &c. They held that the sacrifices they had made were neither numerous, nor, in reality, important; and that better terms could not possibly have been procured without prolonging the war at an enormous cost. On the other hand, the coalesced opposition proclaimed that a worse peace could not have been concluded—that the treaty was replete with infamy and ignominious sacrifices,

dismembering the British empire, and introducing disunion in the most valuable parts of it. The course of events in that part of the world, more than any preconceived scheme, had led Lord North to fix an attentive and hopeful eye on the East Indies, and to promise himself there something more than a compensation for our loss of dominion in other parts. He saw with unaffected anxiety that the treaty, by giving the French a fresh footing on the coast of Coromandel, might shake our rising empire and re-introduce all the anarchy of the old India system. In his speech he dwelt with great ability upon this point, predicting hostile leagues between the French and the native princes, and the speedy interruption of our valuable commerce. He condemned nearly every concession made, but more emphatically the boundaries allowed to the United States, the liberty given to the French and Americans to fish on the banks of Newfoundland, and the surrender to Spain of the Floridas and Minorca. He severely censured the abandonment of the unfortunate American Royalists to the fury of their revengeful countrymen, and the degrading notion of the British government sending prayers and petitions to congress in favour of those victims. Mr. Powys distinguished himself among the many who condemned as infamous and monstrous the coalition between men so different as Lord North and Mr. Fox. He said that this was indeed a season of strange confederacies—arbitrary despots were figuring as the protectors of an infant republic, and in that House the lofty assertors of the power and prerogative of the king were uniting in close alliance with the humble worshippers of the majesty of the people. Burke said there was nothing so monstrous in such an alliance, if any such had been formed—which he had yet to learn. Fox seemed fully to admit the formation of the alliance, and he undertook its defence. One of the best arguments he could have used would have been to declare that orators in opposition always say a great deal more than they mean, or more than they know to be true; and that the best of parliamentary oratory is often little more than an acting for effect. He reminded the

House that he had often paid a tribute to the private worth of Lord North; and that now that the American war, which had caused the hostility between Lord North and him, had ceased, their animosity also ought to end. He declared that he had ever found Lord North open and sincere as a friend, and honourable and manly as an enemy, above practising subterfuges, tricks, and stratagems. This most animated debate was prolonged till half-past seven in the morning, when both the coalition amendments were carried by a majority of sixteen—the numbers being 224 to 208. In the House of Lords an amendment similar to that of Lord North was moved by the Earl of Carlisle, and rejected by a majority of thirteen, or by 72 to 59. Four days after—on the 21st of February—the Coalition followed up their victory in the Commons; and Lord John Cavendish moved a series of resolutions condemning the recent treaty, though still pledging the house to preserve the peace inviolate. Lord John, forgetting how very recently he and his friends had pursued the same course, reprehended men who, with un-English minds, could permit their gloomy imaginations to brood perpetually over our own losses, debts, and disgraces, without looking at the actual state of our enemies. He said, and with perfect truth, that France and Spain were almost ruined by the war; that Holland was in a reduced and helpless condition; and that, in America, most of the people had refused to pay the taxes ordered by congress for continuing the contest. Fox made a brilliant display, and Pitt, though ill and suffering, rose to reply to him: he spoke from one o'clock till four o'clock in the morning, defending the treaty, article by article, and vehemently reproaching the Coalition, which he called an "ill-omened and baneful alliance."* There was more said in the debate upon the

* "Pitt," says Wilberforce, "spoke three hours, till four in the morning; stomach disordered, and actually holding Solomon's Porch (a portico behind the old House of Commons) door open with one hand, while vomiting during Fox's speech, to whom he was to reply."—*MS. Mem. in Life of Wilberforce by his Sons.*

Coalition than about the treaty: but, after four in the morning, Lord John Cavendish's resolutions were carried by a majority of seventeen, the numbers being 207 to 190.

Immediately after this second defeat Lord Shelburne resigned, but the rest of the administration remained, and Pitt even continued in office five weeks after the first lord of the treasury had retired, a circumstance which was considered as unprecedented. According to one who was in his closest intimacy, Pitt, on, or even before, the 24th of February, was sent for by the king, who made him the "very surprising proposition" to form a cabinet of his own.* On the 25th Dundas moved an adjournment for three days, to afford time for the forming of a new cabinet. This motion was readily agreed to; but the three days passed without anything being settled, and when the House met again (on the 28th) neither Dundas nor any one else on that side said a word about the matter. It appears that in the course of that day Thomas Townshend had been sent to persuade Pitt to accede to the king's wishes, but all in vain.† Day after day elapsed, and still all was undecided. On the 2nd or 3rd of March the king sent for Lord North, having previously seen his father, the Earl of Guildford. His majesty insisted that Fox should be given up and excluded; North refused, and they parted on bad terms. On the 5th the king saw Lord North a second time, but he could not prevail upon him to break the coalition.‡ On the 12th his majesty sent for North a third time, and then commissioned him to desire the Duke of Portland, who had succeed to the great party influence of the Marquess of Rockingham, to form an administration. But fresh difficulties arose: the Duke of Portland would in no way break the league which had been formed between his party and the party of Lord North; the king s tried to exclude Fox; and Fox, and some of his frien could not agree as to the admission into the cabine

* Wilberforce; Diary, in Life by his Sons.

† Id. ‡ Id.

Lord Stormont, whom they had rejected before; and, on the 24th of March, it was currently reported that all negotiation between the king and the Coalition was broken off.* On that evening Mr. Coke, the popular member for Norfolk, moved an address requesting his majesty "to consider the distracted and unsettled state of the empire, and comply with the wishes of the House, by forming an administration entitled to the confidence of the people, and such as might tend to terminate the unfortunate divisions and distractions of the country." The debate which ensued was rendered remarkable by Lord North's solemn denial of having ever found, while in office, any secret influence behind the throne—for that cry was again revived and was now applied, not to Lord Bute, who had almost disappeared from the public eye, but to Mr. Jenkinson, afterwards Earl of Liverpool. Coke's motion was carried in a very full House with only four dissentient voices. His majesty replied to this address, that it was his "earnest desire to do everything in his power to comply with the wishes of his faithful Commons." But, though more than a month had passed since the resignation of Lord Shelburne, nothing was done.

On the 31st of March Lord Surrey moved another and stronger address, "to assure his majesty that all delays in a matter of this moment have an inevitable tendency to weaken the authority of his government; and most humbly to entreat that he would take such measures as might quiet the anxiety and apprehension of his faithful subjects." But, as it was intimated by Mr. Pitt that he had that day resigned as chancellor of the exchequer, the motion was ultimately withdrawn. Two days after this the king surrendered at discretion to the Coalition, and an end was put to this long ministerial interregnum, which, however, was not so long by six weeks as the ministerial hiatus in the year 1757.

The Duke of Portland became first lord of the treasury, Lord North secretary for home affairs, and Mr.

* Wilberforce: Diary, in Life by his Sons.

Fox secretary for foreign affairs; the Earl of Carlisle got the privy seal; Lord John Cavendish was reappointed chancellor of the exchequer; and Admiral Lord Keppel, who had quitted the Shelburne party, and resigned in January on account of the treaty of peace, was again placed at the head of the Admiralty. The wishes of the king were complied with as regarded Lord Stormont, who became president of the council; but that other king's man, Lord Chancellor Thurlow, who had been admitted before at the formation of the Rockingham cabinet, when Stormont had been excluded, was now, in his turn, barred and put to the ban: the great seal was given in commission to Lord Loughborough, Mr. Justice Ashhurst, and Mr. Baron Hotham; and the aged Lord Mansfield accepted the temporary office of speaker of the House of Lords; Lord Townshend became master-general of the ordnance; Colonel Fitzpatrick secretary-at-war; Burke again paymaster of the forces, and Charles Townshend treasurer of the navy. These seven—Portland, North, Fox, Cavendish, Carlisle, Keppel, and Stormont—formed the new cabinet. Lord Sandwich, who still enjoyed the protection of North, and whose poverty was notorious, was gratified with the rangership of St. James's and Hyde Parks; and his son, Lord Hinchinbroke, was made master of the buck-hounds; Mr. Wallace and Mr. Lee took again the places of attorney and solicitor-general; Sheridan, whose poverty and eloquence were equally conspicuous, became secretary to the treasury, having for his colleague Burke's brother Richard; Lord North's son (Colonel North) and the Honourable Mr. St. John were appointed under-secretaries of state; the Earl of Northington was made lord-lieutenant of Ireland, and Mr. William Windham secretary for that kingdom. Fox, who was the real head, saw that his popularity was declin and the king's aversion to him increasing every d and that, of all experiments in politics, coalitions are to prove the most dangerous.

One of the first measures which the new cabinet w obliged to propose, was a loan of twelve millions; an

stamp-duty on receipts soon followed. Pitt, while chancellor of the exchequer, had been importuned to reproduce his scheme of parliamentary reform; but he declined the undertaking till the cabinet was changed. On the 7th of May he moved three resolutions:—1. That it was necessary to adopt measures for preventing bribery and expense at elections. 2. That when the majority of voters in any borough should be convicted of corruption, the borough should be disfranchised, and the minority, not convicted, entitled to vote for the county. 3. That an addition should be made to the number of county members and of representatives of the metropolis. Varying upon that point, as his father had done before him, Pitt now defended the rotten boroughs, as necessary deformities, which might disfigure the constitution, but which could not be removed without risking a terrible catastrophe. As Chatham had once done, he maintained that increasing the number of county members would give new life and vigour to the constitution. He would not fix the specific number, but he gave it as his opinion, that, including the new members for the metropolis, not less than one hundred representatives ought to be added to the House. A host of the American Royalists soon found themselves compelled to quit their native country for ever. Counting all classes and conditions, they subsequently received, in various parliamentary grants, somewhat more than twelve millions of money.

On the 17th of June a remarkable petition—the first of so many—was presented to parliament by the Quakers for the total abolition of the slave-trade. It was considered as little more than a romantic aspiration of the amiable enthusiasts who had sent it up, and after a very short debate it was ordered to lie upon the table. On the 16th of July parliament was prorogued.

On the 2nd of September preliminary articles of peace with the Dutch were signed at Paris, Great Britain obtaining the cession of Negapatam, and restoring Trincomalee and all her other conquests. On the very next day the definitive treaties with France, Spain, and America were signed at the same place. Shortly after, when

Adams arrived as envoy from the United States, the king said to him, at his first audience:—"I was the last man in the kingdom, sir, to consent to the independence of America; but, now it is granted, I shall be the last man in the world to sanction a violation of it."

When parliament re-assembled—on the 11th of November—the Prince of Wales took his seat in the House of Peers as Duke of Cornwall; and Fox produced his famous India bills, which became the immediate cause of the dismissal of the coalition ministry. The first of these bills was for "vesting the affairs of the East India Company in the hands of certain commissioners, for the benefit of the proprietors and the public." Fox proposed that these directors should be seven in number, to be nominated *in the first instance by parliament*, and afterwards by the crown, to act for four years; but there were to be added nine assistant-directors, to be chosen in open election by a majority of the proprietors of East India stock. The seven directors were to be intrusted with the entire management of the territorial possessions and revenues of the company; and the nine assistant-directors acting under them were to manage the commercial concerns of the company; and both classes were to be removeable by the king, *on address of either House of Parliament*. The second bill,—"for the better government of the territorial possessions and dependencies in India"—related chiefly to the powers to be granted to the governor-general and council in India, and to the conduct to be observed towards the natives. Fox encountered no opposition till the first of the two bills had been once read—on the 20th of November—and it was moved that it should be read a second time that day week. This motion was opposed by Mr. W. W. Grenville (afterwards Lord Grenville), who denounced the plan as one of the most alarming nature, involving the most daring violation of chartered rights of the company, and putting an ext of patronage into the hands of ministers which would enable them to defy both the parliament and the crown. Grenville moved that the second reading should be post-

poned till after the Christmas recess; and he was supported by his relative, Pitt, by Dundas, Jenkinson, and other members, including Mr. John Scott, afterwards Lord Chancellor Eldon. Fox exerted himself greatly; but Lord North was absent on account of indisposition. Grenville, contented with having made a beginning, did not press his motion to a division. The second reading, therefore, came on on the 27th, and then there arose one of the longest and most animated of debates. On the 1st of December another great struggle took place on the motion for going into committee. Burke, who is said to have been even more than Fox the real author of the India scheme, was the principal orator on this occasion. Pitt pledged himself that, if the House would throw out the present bill, he would bring forward another, which would answer the exigencies of the case, without the violence or danger of the measure then before them. Again it was half-past four in the morning before a division took place; but then the motion for going into committee was carried by 217 against 103. On the 8th of December the third reading was carried by 208 against 102. These were great and triumphant majorities; and Fox, it appears, thought he had reason to hope for the concurrence of the Lords, although the king had resolutely opposed a new and copious creation of Whig peers. On the very next day, the 9th of December, the bill was carried up to the Lords by Mr. Fox, attended by a great body of the Commons. Though allowed, as a matter of course, a first reading, it was at once reprobated by the Duke of Richmond, by Lord Thurlow, and by Lord Temple, who had had repeated interviews with the king to concert measures for relieving him from the Coalition. Temple described the whole bill as *infamous*. Thurlow, proclaimed, with his sonorous voice, that, if the bill passed, the crown of England would no longer be worth a man of honour's wearing. "The king," he added, "will, in fact, take the diadem from his own head and place it on the head of Mr. Fox!" In the debate Pitt, with the cold, sarcastic manner which was natural to him even in his early days, said that ministers

ought instantly to resign, as it was evident, even from their own confessions, that they had lost the confidence of the sovereign. Fox spoke of his own glorious and independent majority in the Commons, and of the private cabal consequently convened elsewhere. All strangers were excluded; but it appears that in the debate the motion was warmly attacked as an invasion of the king's prerogative. The entire resolution was, nevertheless, carried by 147 against 73.

All this passed on Wednesday, the 17th. The next day was employed by the king in making dispositions for the formation of a new cabinet; and at twelve o'clock at night on Thursday, the 18th, a messenger delivered to Mr. Fox and Lord North his majesty's orders, "that they should deliver up the seals of their offices, and send them by the under-secretaries, Mr. Frazer and Mr. Nepean, as a personal interview on the occasion would be disagreeable to him." The king delivered both seals into the hands of Lord Temple. On the following day—the 19th of December—Temple sent letters of dismission to all the other members of the Coalition cabinet. At the same time, Pitt, though only in his twenty-fifth year, was appointed first lord of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer; Earl Gower, president of the council; and Temple, one of the secretaries of state. Earl Temple, the active agent in the overthrow of the Coalition, resigned on the 22nd the place which he had accepted on the 18th; upon which Viscount Sydney was appointed secretary of state for the home, and the Marquess of Carmarthen for the foreign, department. At the same time, the new cabinet was completed by the additional appointments of the Duke of Rutland as lord privy seal, of Earl Howe as first lord of the admiralty, and of Lord Thurlow as chancellor. A few weeks afterwards, however, the Duke of Rutland was tra ferred to the government of Ireland, on which E Gower took the privy seal, and was succeeded as pre dent of the council by Lord Camden. The Duke Richmond was made master-general of the ordna without a seat in the cabinet; Mr. William Grenv

and Lord Mulgrave became joint paymasters of the forces: Mr. Dundas, treasurer of the navy; Mr. George Rose and Mr. Thomas Steele, secretaries of the treasury; Mr. Lloyd (afterwards Lord) Kenyon, attorney-general; and Mr. Arden, solicitor-general. On the 22nd, Mr. Erskine moved an address to his majesty not to dissolve the present parliament, but to be graciously pleased to hearken to the advice of his faithful Commons, and not to the secret advices of particular persons, who might have private interests of their own, separate from the true interests of his majesty and his people. Pitt had not yet been re-elected, but his friend Mr. Bankes, of Corfe Castle, declared that he was authorised to state that he had no intention whatever to advise either a dissolution or a prorogation; and that, if either of these measures were resorted to, Mr. Pitt would unquestionably resign! Erskine's motion was, nevertheless, pressed, and was finally agreed to without a division. During this debate Lord North eulogised Fox as the best and the most honourable of men and statesmen. Some one spoke of Mr. Fox as having resigned; "No," said North, "my right honourable friend did not resign; *he was turned out; we were all turned out.*" The king's answer to the address moved by Erskine was reported to the House on the 24th (Christmas Eve) and it contained an assurance that his majesty would not interrupt their meeting by any exercise of his prerogative either by prorogation or dissolution.

A.D. 1784.—When the House reassembled, after the Christmas recess, Pitt and the other members of the government who had been re-elected appeared in their places. Fox immediately moved the resumption of the committee on the state of the nation. After a debate which lasted till two o'clock in the morning, the motion was carried against Pitt, by a majority of thirty-nine—or by 232 against 193. Imputations were thrown out that the ministerial minority had been raised by unfair methods and influences; but Erskine, nevertheless, described the youthful premier as about to be hurled from his eminence in a few hours. In this fierce contention

men thought not of rest. Attack followed attack, and still the young premier was left in minorities. Pitt declared that he had taken upon himself the government of the country upon one single, plain, intelligible principle, by which he desired to stand or fall with the people, namely, *to save the country from the India bill, which threatened destruction to its liberties.* On the 14th, Pitt moved for leave to bring in a new bill, the provisions of which he explained at great length, for the better government and management of the affairs of the East India Company Fox criticised the proposed measure with great severity; but no opposition was made to the motion, and the House diverged to charges and counter-charges of corruption, and of attempts to purchase votes. On the 16th, Pitt's India bill was read a first time with very little debate; and, the committee on the state of the nation being then resumed, Lord Charles Spencer moved a resolution, declaring, "that, after the expressed opinion of the House, the continuance of the present ministers in office was contrary to constitutional principles, and injurious to the interests of his majesty and his people." This was carried by a majority of *twenty-one*, the numbers being 206 to 185.

During the debate, Mr. Powys alluded to the possibility of an accommodation between the two contending parties, or a coalition between Fox and Pitt. Fox spoke as if the thing were feasible, but Pitt carefully avoided committing himself on that delicate subject. When the House met again on the 20th, Pitt found himself obliged to take notice of the recommendation of the respectable and independent country gentleman; but he repeated the declaration made on the previous evening by Fox, that a union not founded on principle would be fallacious and dangerous. On Friday, the 23rd, the new Ind' bill was read a second time without opposition; but long debate took place upon the motion for committin the bill, which, on a division, was negatived, and the bi consequently thrown out, by 222 against 214. Upo this, Fox moved for, and obtained, leave to bring in a ne bill of his own on the same subject. As the Oppositio

apprehended that these triumphs thus carried by constantly diminishing numbers, would only hasten the dissolution, they endeavoured to extract from the young premier his interpretation of the precise meaning of the royal promise on that head; but Pitt preserved an obstinate silence, and the House, at two o'clock in the morning, adjourned to the next, or rather the same day, Saturday, at twelve. When they met again the same question was put, and the same silence preserved by the young and haughty minister, as to the king's intention of dissolving them. On Monday, the 26th, Mr. Eden moved a resolution, declaring the firm reliance of the House, that they should not be interrupted either by a prorogation or a dissolution from considering of proper measures for the regulation of the affairs of the East India Company, and for supporting the public credit. Mr. Pitt then rose and said, that he did not see how the royal word could be considered pledged to the extent of the motion; but he added, that, in the present situation of affairs, he thought a dissolution could not but be attended with great detriment and disadvantage, and therefore he would not advise any such exercise of the prerogative. Mr. Eden's resolution was agreed to without a division, and the House adjourned to the 29th.

The three days that intervened were employed in anxious but useless efforts to bring about a coalition. Mr. Grosvenor, member for Chester, called a meeting of the members of the two parties, and about seventy gentlemen met at the St. Alban's tavern, where an address was agreed upon, and transmitted to the Duke of Portland and Mr. Pitt, entreating them to communicate with each other, and expressing a hope that, by a liberal and unreserved confidence, every impediment to their cordial co-operation might be removed. The Duke of Portland insisted that, before he met Mr. Pitt, the latter should resign; and this Pitt declined doing. The negotiation was suspended at this point when the House reassembled on the 29th, to be again adjourned—on the motion of Fox—till the 2nd of February. In the course of a short conversation, Fox spoke openly of the St. Alban's tavern

negotiation, and said he trusted that those well-meant endeavours might yet produce something like a union; adding, however, that while the present ministry retained their situations, every effort of that kind must prove unavailing.

On the 2nd of February, when the House met again, Mr. Grosvenor, who had been chairman of the St. Alban's tavern meeting, moved, that it was the opinion of the House that the critical situation of public affairs required the exertions of a fair, sufficient, extended, united administration, entitled to the confidence of the people, and such as might have a tendency to put an end to the unfortunate divisions and distractions of this country. Pitt now said that nothing but evil would come from the resignation of ministers; that neither his principles nor his feelings inclined him to resign; but that, if he could see any prospect of a strong and well-connected government ready to succeed him, he would cheerfully retire, without any desire to form a part of such government. Mr. Grosvenor's motion was unanimously agreed to; and then Mr. Coke, of Norfolk, moved that it was the opinion of the House that the continuance of the present ministers in their offices was an obstacle to the formation of such an administration as might enjoy the confidence of the House, &c. This motion was carried by 223 against 204. On the following day, after expressing his disappointment at seeing Pitt still in his place, Mr. Coke moved that the two resolutions should be laid before his majesty by those members who were of the privy council; and this motion was carried by 211 against 187.

The Lords had hitherto been quiet in the struggle; but Pitt, that great maker of peers, had already made several, including his uncle, Thomas Pitt;* and on the 4th of March the eloquence or zeal of the new lc was brought into play. Lord Howard of Effingham, old lord but a new convert, moved two resolutions, rectly levelled at those which had recently been pas

* The first Lord Camelford.

by the Commons: the first, declaring that an attempt in any one branch of the legislature to suspend the course of law was unconstitutional; and the second asserting the undoubted authority of appointing to the great offices of the executive government to be solely vested in the sovereign. There was a long debate, but both resolutions were carried by 100 against 53. On the very next day, in the Commons, a series of resolutions, asserting that that House had not assumed any right to suspend the execution of law, or done anything else that was unconstitutional, was carried by 187 against 157. On the 11th of February, the proposed union of parties was once more discussed in the Commons, and Fox made what was considered a conciliatory and even complimentary speech. In replying to Fox, Pitt said that, whatever might be his disposition to coalesce with that gentleman, there were other persons of the same party with whom he would never act. Lord North, who considered himself more particularly pointed at, immediately rose, and declared, with great frankness, that he would never be the man to stand in the way of the formation of such a stable, united, and extended administration as the present exigencies of the country required.

The St. Alban's tavern association now succeeded in prevailing upon Mr. Pitt to agree that a message should be sent in the king's name to the Duke of Portland, expressing his majesty's earnest desire that his grace should hold a conference with Mr. Pitt, for the purpose of forming an administration "on a wide basis, and on fair and equal terms." But the duke insisted upon being permitted to construe this message as a virtual resignation on the part of Pitt; and requested to know what was meant by fair and equal terms, and also to have the honour of receiving his majesty's commands relative to the conference from the sovereign in person. The Duke of Portland immediately received a flat negative, both to the proposed assumption of Pitt's virtual resignation, and to the personal audience with the king; and thus the negotiation terminated.

When afterwards called upon in the House to explain, Pitt said that he had taken it for granted that the Duke of Portland and his friends intended that the arrangements should *not* be made on "fair and equal terms." On the 18th of February, on the order of the day being read for going into the consideration of the supplies, he intimated that his majesty had not thought proper to dismiss his present ministers in compliance with the resolution of that House, and that ministers had not resigned. Fox, after declaring that such language had not been heard in the House since the Revolution, or, at least, since the accession of the House of Hanover, moved that the report of the committee of supply should be received, not now, but on Friday, the 20th; and the motion was carried by the narrow majority of *twelve*, the numbers being 208 against 196. On the 20th, Mr. Powys moved a mild resolution, implying that the House relied on his majesty's royal wisdom, and hoped that he would take such measures as might tend to give effect to the wishes of his faithful Commons, which had already been humbly represented to his majesty. In the debate which followed, Fox complained bitterly of the efforts which had been made to load him and his friends with unpopularity and odium, particularly by representing their late vote for a short postponement of the supplies as a fatal blow given to the national credit. He also endeavoured to explain and defend his strong objections to a recurrence to the voice of the people through a new election; he declared that the people at the present moment were labouring under deception and delusion—were running to their own ruin—and that, therefore, it became an act of duty to resist them! Powys's motion was carried by 197 against 177; and then, though it was near two o'clock in the morning, Fox proposed an address to his majesty founded up the resolution. After a stormy debate, this, too, w carried by 177 against 156; and then, at half-past fiv the House adjourned.

In reply to the address, which was not presented ti the 25th, the king said that unsuccessful efforts had be

made to arrange a united administration, for which he was very desirous; but that he could not see how it would in any degree be advanced by the dismission of his present ministers, against whom no charge had been made, while numbers of his subjects had expressed to him in the warmest manner their satisfaction in the late changes. "Under these circumstances," added his majesty, "I trust my faithful Commons will not wish that the essential offices of executive government should be vacated until I see a prospect that such a plan of union as I have called for, and they have pointed out, may be carried into effect." When this answer was reported—on the 27th—Lord Beaumont moved, first, that it should be taken into consideration on Monday, the 1st of March, and then, that the House should adjourn to that day. Pitt offered no objection to the first motion, which was accordingly agreed to; but, as the object of the second was to delay the supplies, he opposed it with all his might. It was, however, carried against him by 175 to 168.

On the 1st of March, when the House reassembled, Fox moved a second address to the throne, to be carried up, like the former, by the whole House. This address was much stronger than the last, and contained a direct prayer for the removal of ministers. It was carried by 201 against 189. On Thursday, the 4th of March, the Commons went up to St. James's, and were told by his majesty that he remained in the same sentiments he had formerly expressed. Upon the motion of Fox it was agreed that this answer should not be taken into consideration before the following Monday. On the next day—Friday, the 5th—Fox moved that the committee on the Mutiny Bill, which stood for that day, should also be adjourned to Monday. This motion, too, he carried, but by a majority of only *nine*, the numbers being 171 against 162.

On the great Monday—the 8th of March—the House was crowded to excess. But just as the important debate was about to begin, Sir James Lowther, complaining that he had not been able to find room for his friend,

the brother of the member for St. Alban's, and saying that he had reason to believe that there might be strangers in the gallery not introduced by members, insisted upon carrying into force the standing order of the House for excluding all strangers whatsoever; and the gallery was accordingly cleared. Fox moved another address to the throne, repeating at greater length the prayer for the removal of ministers, and vindicating the loyalty of the Commons, who were declared to be incapable of any wish to lessen the prerogative. Pitt took little or no part in the debate, but his place was ably supplied by Dundas. About midnight, the House, in the midst of uncommon anxiety and impatience on both sides, prepared to divide. In a few minutes Fox was found to have the majority, but this time only by *one* solitary vote, the numbers being 191 against 190. Tremendous cheers were raised on the ministerial benches; and the Coalition felt that the fight was over, and that nothing was left but a dignified retreat. The majority of *one* stuck in their throats, and they tried no more divisions. The Mutiny Bill was voted, the supplies were voted to the extent demanded by Pitt, and the Appropriation Act was left to sleep. On the morrow there was some angry conversation. Mr. Powys lamented, that, though a century had not elapsed since a vote of the Commons could bestow a crown, their repeated votes were not able now to procure the dismission of a minister! Nearly everybody now knew that both the king and the minister had entered into the St. Alban's tavern propositions merely to gain time and to amuse the House while they were preparing for the great event of a dissolution. Yet even after the knowledge of this fact, and of the rapidly declining strength of opposition, had become universal, the young premier continued to preserve his mystery and silence. On the 23rd, after several members had t to force some words from the dumb oracle, Lord N said that the report that they were at the point of de was in everybody's mouth; that it would be treating House with unparalleled insult and contempt to disso parliament without waiting for a bill of appropriati

and that he had hoped the minister would have condescended to utter a single syllable by way of satisfaction. Pitt coldly replied that gentlemen might ask as many questions as they pleased, and attribute to him what motives they chose for his not answering them; that he did not conceive that he was bound to answer one way or another; and that he should pursue the line of conduct he thought right. On the very next day—the 24th—the king went down to the House of Lords, and put an end to the session by a prorogation; declaring that he felt it to be a duty which he owed to the constitution and the country, under its actual circumstances, to recur as speedily as possible to the sense of his people by convoking a new parliament. And the next day the sentence of dissolution appeared in the Gazette.

As it was indispensable to procure an Appropriation Bill as soon as possible, the elections were commenced almost immediately, and the new parliament was convoked for the 18th of May. Pitt felt that his danger was over and his majority certain. The Coalition had made a wreck of the wonderful popularity of his rival, and the India bill had arrayed against Fox the immense weight and influence of the company, and nearly the whole City interest. No method had been neglected to heap odium on the coalition and the heads of Fox and North. Extracts of former speeches, lampoons, satires in prose and verse, were printed daily, and scattered through every town and village in the kingdom. The pencil and etching-needle of the caricaturist were brought into the service, and furnished with subjects out of the recent history of parliament. In one print Fox, under the character of a "Political Samson," appeared carrying away on his shoulders the whole East India House: in another, called "The Triumphal Entry of Carlo Khan into Delhi," the queer, fat, good-humoured face of Lord North was stuck upon the body of an elephant, and Charles Fox, in the splendid costume of a Mogul emperor, was seated triumphantly on the elephant's back; while Burke, as a trumpeter, walked before, proclaiming the successor of Tamerlane and Aurungzebe. The

youth of Pitt, and the bold stand he had made against numbers, told greatly in his favour; and, while he was represented to one party as a stanch defender of the prerogative, he was held up to the admiration of the other as the champion of parliamentary reform and the declared antagonist of aristocratic influence. The king, too, who had become popular in the midst of reverses, was pitied and admired, even in the quarters whence the great storms proceeded which had troubled the early part of the reign. Addresses and petitions, imploring his majesty to support Mr. Pitt, had from the commencement of the contest been pouring in to St. James's from all parts, from the city of London down to the memorable borough of New Sarum, which then, as at a later period, consisted of one solitary farm-house. Middlesex, Southwark, and even Westminster, had abandoned Fox, and had congratulated the throne on the dismission of the Coalition ministry. Worcester, Exeter, York, Edinburgh, and many other towns had followed the example. It is not to be supposed that all these demonstrations were spontaneous: for three months, while the opposition in the House of Commons, confident in their numerical strength, were striving to prevent a dissolution, Pitt had been preparing for the new election, and every influence a government can command had been employed in his favour. In many counties and towns the oldest and best established interests were completely undermined, and the Pitt candidates returned by triumphant majorities. Not less than 160 members, friends of the Coalition ministers, lost their elections, and were sent back to private life with the name of "Fox's Martyrs." The result of the whole was a complete establishment of the political supremacy of Pitt.

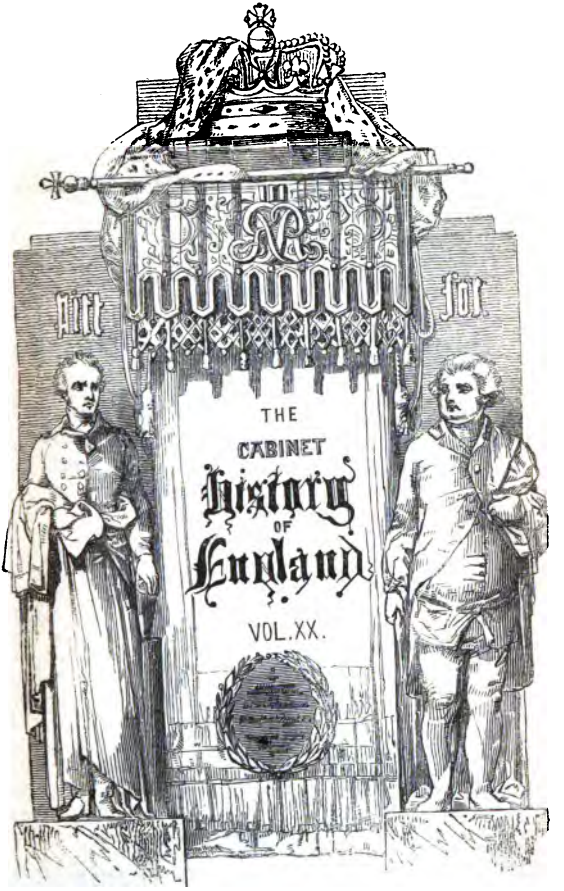
The new parliament assembled on the day appointed —the 18th of May—when the king, with a joyful co tenance, descanted in his speech on the declared sen his people and the demerits of Fox's India bill. addresses from both Houses expressed thanks and g tude to the king for having dissolved the late parliam the opposition amendments having been rejected by l

majorities. On the 21st of June Pitt moved several resolutions for stopping smuggling by reducing the duty upon tea from 50 to 12½ per cent.; and for raising the window-tax in proportion. These resolution, which were the basis of his 'Commutation Act,' were passed, though not without much debate. After some financial arrangements he introduced his new constitution for the East India Company, materially altered from his first draught. It left the directors of the company to be elected, as they had always been, by the proprietors; but it associated with them in the government of India what is called the Board of Control, the members of which are appointed by the crown, and come in and go out with the ministry of which they form a part, like the members of the Board of Trade or of the Treasury. The bill was carried through both Houses by large majorities.

On the 30th of June the premier produced his budget, which included a loan of six millions. He gave all his support to a humane and liberal bill, moved by his friend Dundas, ex-lord advocate of Scotland, and now treasurer to the navy, for restoring the Scottish estates forfeited on account of the Rebellion of 1745. The measure encountered no opposition whatever in the Commons; but in the Lords the restored Chancellor Thurlow ventured some splenetic comments upon it. The bill was, however, carried, and received the royal assent. On the 20th of August, after the Appropriation Bill and all other indispensable measures had been carried by jubilant ministerial majorities, the king prorogued parliament, with the satisfactory conviction that he had established a ministry to his own mind, and had nothing more to fear from the once formidable coalition which had for months deprived him of his rest. From this period, for seventeen long and eventful years we shall find the councils of Great Britain directed by William Pitt.

END OF VOL. XIX.

London: Printed by WILLIAM CLOWES and SONS, Stamford St


THE
CABINET
History
OF
England
VOL. XX.

William Simonds

THE

CABINET HISTORY OF ENGLAND;

BEING

AN ABRIDGMENT, BY THE AUTHOR,

OF THE CHAPTERS ENTITLED "CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY" IN "THE PICTORIAL HISTORY OF ENGLAND," WITH A CONTINUATION TO THE PRESENT TIME.

BY CHARLES MAC FARLANE.

VOLUME XX.

LONDON:
CHARLES KNIGHT AND CO., LUDGATE STREET.
1846.

London: Printed by W. Clowes and Sons, Stamford Street

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A.D. 1760—1785.

CHAPTER I.—*Continued.*

GEORGE III.—*Continued.*

A.D. 1785.—Mr. Pitt's first parliament, prorogued on the 20th of August, 1784, did not reassemble until the 25th of January. The young premier's great rival, Mr. Fox, had been again returned for Westminster at the last general election; but Sir Cecil Wray, the unsuccessful Tory candidate, having demanded a scrutiny, Corbett, the high bailiff of the city of Westminster, and a warm Pittite, not without encouragement from the minister or from his triumphant party, took upon himself to make no return of representatives for that city; and Fox had been obliged to creep into parliament as member for a Scotch burgh—a circumstance which had given rise to many sarcastic jokes in the preceding session. Immediately on the meeting of the new parliament the conduct of the high bailiff had been taken up warmly by the opposition, and had been as warmly defended by the minister and his friends. Counsel had been heard at the bar, petitions from Mr. Fox and petitions from the Westminster electors had been read; but ministerial majorities had justified the conduct of the bailiff, and had ordered him to proceed in the scrutiny "with all practicable despatch." But Corbett too well

knew what was expected from him by his party to make use of any despatch; and at the opening of the present session, when the scrutiny had lasted some eight months, it was found that not quite two out of the seven parishes into which Westminster was divided were scrutinised. On the 8th of February the subject was brought again before the House by a petition from the electors; and the high bailiff and his counsel underwent another long examination at the bar touching the practicability of carrying on the scrutiny with more despatch. The bailiff gave in evidence that it would certainly take not less, but probably a much longer time, than two years, to finish the scrutiny. On the very next day Mr. Welbore Ellis, now out of place and in opposition, moved that the high bailiff should obey the writ, and make a return of the precept—which meant, at least according to the doctrine of the mover and his friends, that he should declare elected those who had stood highest on the poll. A long and violent debate, marked on both sides with gross personalities, followed; and the constitutional law or rule was absolutely buried under mountains of abuse and rhetoric. Fox, as his speech is reported by a friendly organ, was mild and even pathetic in accusing his rival, Pitt, of unfairness. "He had," he said, "always wished to stand well with the right honourable gentleman: he remembered the day he had first congratulated the House on the acquisition of his abilities: it had been his pride to fight side by side with him the battles of the constitution, little thinking that he would one day desert his principles, and lend himself to be the instrument of that secret influence which they had both combated so successfully. He might have been prepared to find a formidable rival in the right honourable gentleman—a rival that would leave him far behind in the pursuit of glory; but he never could have expected that he could have descended so low as to the court persecutor of any man. . . . . He saw plain that it was a pecuniary contest, and that his friends were to be tired out by the expense of it. The scrutiny on both sides could not cost less than 30,000*l.* a-year

This was enough to shake the best fortunes. His own last shilling might easily be got at, for he was poor; but, little as he had, he would spend it to the last shilling. If in the end he should lose his election, it would not be through want of a legal majority, but through want of money! and thus would he, perhaps, be deprived of his right, and the electors of Westminster of the man of their choice, because he was not able to carry on a pecuniary contest with the Treasury."* The young premier, more starch and stern than any veteran minister that had appeared in modern times, called these charges "mad and violent assertions,"—"as gross as they were unfounded,"—the products of one "mad with desperation and disappointment." He accused Fox of filling his speech for three hours at a time "with everything that was personal, inflammatory, and invidious."† And, with a scornful elevation of the nostril, he continued—"I say, nevertheless, I am not surprised if he should pretend to be the butt of ministerial persecution; and if, by striving to excite the public compassion, he should seek to reinstate himself in that popularity which he once enjoyed, but which he so unhappily has forfeited. For, it is the best and most ordinary resource of these political apostates to court and to offer themselves to persecution for the sake of the popular predilection and pity which usually fall upon persecuted men; it becomes worth their while to suffer for a time political martyrdom, for the sake of the canonization that awaits the suffering martyr; and I make no doubt the right honourable gentleman has so much penetration, and at the same time so much passive virtue about him, that he would be glad not only to seem a poor, injured, persecuted man, but he would gladly seek an opportunity of even really suffering a little persecution, if it be possible to find such an opportunity."‡ On the 3rd of March, in moving for an adjournement of the question, the Premier had the

* Ann. Regist. † Ibid.

‡ Speeches of the Right Hon. William Pitt in the House of Commons, 3rd edit.

by a majority of nearly two to one. The citizens of Dublin held an aggregate meeting and issued a circular address to the Irish people, recommending that five persons should be elected from every county, city, and considerable town, to meet in Dublin in NATIONAL CONGRESS. This close and quick imitation of the Americans roused the British government and called forth the energy of Pitt. Measures were taken to prevent the meeting of this proposed congress. The congress nevertheless met in October, though in a very incomplete form, passed many strong resolutions, and peaceably adjourned with exhortations to all Irish patriots to do their best in order to render its next meeting more complete and effective. On the 2nd of January of the present year, 1785, the national congress met again at Dublin, consisting of delegates from twenty-seven of the counties—in all about 200 individuals. Their tone was high and threatening; their proceedings continued to be an imitation of the conduct of the American revolutionists, only varying through the difference of national character, or the greater heat or impetuosity of Irish-born patriots. Many of the leaders and orators were the same men who, a few years after, mingled their admiration of the great French revolution with their sympathy for the American one, and who, deluded by promises of assistance and confraternity from the French republicans, rushed headlong into rebellion. For the present they held several adjourned meetings, and established permanent *committees of correspondence*. In the mean time commissioners had been appointed by the Irish parliament to confer with the British cabinet, and a plan of commercial relief had been agreed upon between Mr. Pitt and this commission. The Irish Houses of Commons and Lords having concurred in this plan, Mr. Pitt introduced it in the English House of Commons. It consisted of two great provisions:—1. To permit the importation of the produce of our colonies in the West Indies and America through Ireland into Great Britain. 2. To establish a free trade, or mutual exchange, between Great Britain and Ireland, of their respective productions

and manufactures upon equal terms. In return for these advantages the minister proposed that Ireland should contribute a certain annual sum out of the surplus of her hereditary revenue towards the general expenses of the empire. Mr. Pitt spoke with laudable feeling against the old jealous, exclusive, and unwisely selfish spirit which had animated the British legislature. He said, "the house would recollect that, from the Revolution to a period within the memory of every man who heard him, until those very few years, the English system had been that of debarring Ireland from the enjoyment and use of her own resources; to make the kingdom completely subservient to the interests and opulence of this country, without suffering her to share in the bounties of nature, in the industry of her citizens, or making them contribute to the general interests and strength of the empire. This system of cruel and abominable restraint had, however, been exploded. It was at once harsh and unjust, and it was as impolitic as it was oppressive." The scheme was submitted to a committee of the board of trade and plantations, who examined some of the principal merchants and manufacturers of England, and then presented to the House a long and contradictory report. Upon this the House resolved to examine those merchants and manufacturers at their own bar. These examinations were so long, and the petitions against the plan so numerous, that more than two months were occupied by them. In the end the anti-liberal feeling compelled Pitt to subjoin a variety of restrictive clauses, binding Ireland to adopt whatever navigation laws the British parliament might hereafter enact; prohibiting the importation into Ireland, or thence into Great Britain, of any West Indian commodities not the produce of our own colonies; and forbidding Ireland to trade to any country beyond the Cape of Good Hope and the Straits of Magelhaen, so long as the charter of the East India Company should be continued. Great and sure as was the ministerial majority, the principles of the bill were not adopted without warm discussions in both Houses, some maintaining that they were giving too little to

Ireland, and many more that they were giving a great deal too much. In Ireland strong objections were taken to all the alterations and additions to the original propositions, and numerous petitions were presented against the bill. A motion for leave to bring in a corresponding bill was carried in the Irish House of Commons, but by a majority of only ninteen, the numbers being 127 against 108. The mover, Mr. Orde, the secretary of the lord-lieutenant, having procured the bill to be read the first time and printed, declared that he should proceed no farther with it during the present session. After the rising of parliament Dublin and most of the great towns continued in a very turbulent state; the non-importation associations, which had been copied from the Americans, were renewed, and were in many instances sanctioned by the grand juries; dreadful threats were uttered against all who should dare to import any goods from England, and these menaces and the dread of the popular fury produced the same effect here as they had done at Boston. The stoppage to trade, particularly in the seaports, threw thousands of men out of employment; and the idle and the hungry sought relief or occupation in rioting. In some quarters of Dublin the troops were obliged to be almost constantly under arms.

While the Irish Trade Bill was pending, Mr. Pitt, on the 18th of April, again called the attention of the House of Commons to the subject of a reform in the representation of the people. He had pledged himself "as a man and a minister" to promote this cause; but it may be doubted whether, at this moment, he had any anxious desire for parliamentary reform, notwithstanding his declarations to some of his private friends, then ardent reformers, that he would exert his influence to the uttermost for this measure.* The specific proposition he made was to transfer the right of election from thirty-s rotten boroughs to the counties and the great unrepr sented towns, giving a compensation in money to th owners and holders of the rotten boroughs so disfra

* Letter from Mr. R. Smith to Wilberforce, in Life.

chised; and to extend the right of voting in county elections to copyholders. In the very beginning of his speech he seemed to acknowledge the hopelessness of success to any such scheme; and the whole bill was thrown out by 248 against 174. This was Pitt's last performance as a parliamentary reformer.

In the course of the session Pitt called the attention of the House to a general review of the national finances, and, after suggesting various alterations, stated that he expected that the land and malt taxes added to the product of the other taxes would leave him an overplus of nearly 1,000,000*l.* per annum, which sum he thought ought to go into a sinking fund, to be applied to the extinction of the national debt. He did not, however, intend to put any such scheme into execution until the following year. Many objections were taken to the whole plan by the opposition, though even in that quarter some high notions were already entertained of the young chancellor of the exchequer's abilities as a calculator and financier, and some of the Whigs—the extremes of the party—probably did not think the worse of the plan from its being known to have been suggested by Dr. Price (the friend of Dr. Priestley), an eminent dissenting minister, who entertained the most liberal views in general politics. Several new taxes were added to those imposed in the preceding year: among them was a tax upon female servants, calculated to produce annually 140,000*l.*; and an additional tax upon male servants, calculated to produce, in addition to the former one, 35,000*l.** Within the last few years, or since the impulse had been given by Burke, various bills had been passed for regulating the public offices of the kingdom; and Mr. Pitt now brought one in "for appointing commissioners for inquiring into the fees, gratuities, perquisites, and emoluments, which are or lately have been received in the several public offices; to examine into any abuses which may exist in the same; and to report

* Pitt's tax on maid-servants encountered much opposition, and became the subject of many jokes.

such observations as shall occur to them for the better conducting and managing the business transacted in the said offices." The opposition to this bill was very considerable. It was not possible to deny the existence of extortion, peculation, and other abuses; but a stand was made upon the liberty of the subject, and the principles of Magna Charta were quoted against the bill, and in defence of rapacious placemen and official understrappers. The question was finally carried in the Commons by 74 against 15. The Lords introduced several amendments, and one in particular which subjected the commissioners to the control of the board of treasury. The commissioners appointed were two of the comptrollers of army accounts and Mr. Francis Baring.

No nation on the continent had suffered so much from the American war as the Dutch. Their finances were embarrassed, their losses excessive, and their colonies, which had been taken by the English, and then retaken by the French, were kept, for the most part, by the French. Their neighbours and rivals, the Belgians, were encouraged in their endeavours to make Ostend the centre of a great trade, and a place of export and import to and from the East Indies—a scheme which had for some time been earnestly entertained by their sovereign, the Emperor Joseph, who, at the same moment, was erecting at the head of the Venetian Gulf a great trading town and port to rival the old commercial grandeur of Venice. At the same time the anomalous government of the Dutch, which was neither a republic nor a constitutional monarchy, or indeed anything else capable of being described by a political term, was torn to pieces by intestine dissensions. The oligarchic or French party accused the Orangeists, or quasi-royalists, who adhered to the Stadtholder, of having misconducted the war, and of now aiming at the subversion of the national libert and municipal rights: the Orangists accused the Fren party of having needlessly precipitated the country in ruinous war with England, and a most perilous a reacherous alliance with France, and of encouragin emocratic fury which would be more insupportable th

the tyranny of the completest despot. One thing was clear and certain—the Dutch could neither preserve peace at home nor defend themselves from the attack of any one powerful neighbour. In sacrificing their old alliance with England they had committed a sort of political suicide. England had saved them from being swallowed up by Louis XIV.; but events were now in rapid progress which were to render the restored friendship of England of no avail, which were to render the appetite of the French more ravenous than under the Grand Monarque, and to leave Holland and all her liberties and rights a helpless prey to Gallic Sansculottism. Thus, in numerous ways, did the effects of the American war prepare and facilitate the events of the French revolution.

But, for the present, though injuring and despoiling them, France continued to play the part of an ally to the United Provinces, and Austria was the power that threatened their peace and their very existence as an independent nation. As early as the year 1781 the Emperor Joseph had determined to do away with the Barrier Treaty, and to take possession of the numerous fortresses of the Austrian Netherlands, which, ever since the conclusion of the war of succession, had been deposited in the hands of the Dutch, and garrisoned by them for the mutual defence of the Netherlands and of Holland, or as a common bulwark against the inroads of the French. The scheme was that of two great men, William III. and the Duke of Marlborough; but it was to be thrown to the winds by the chances and changes, the passions and caprices, of the present times. The Dutch had all the honour, such as it was, of keeping up these garrisons, but the House of Austria nearly all the expense. The Emperor Joseph grudged the money, and felt ashamed of having some of his principal cities and fortresses occupied by foreigners; he much doubted whether in case of a new war these Dutch garrisons would materially contribute to check the progress of an enemy; besides, he was now at peace and in close alliance with France, and, as he fondly fancied,

likely to remain so; and, in case of the contrary, he felt confidence in his own vastly increased army and improved resources, which left him no doubt that he should be fully able to defend the Austrian Netherlands without so many expensive places of arms, and wholly without the assistance of the Dutch and the humiliating interference of burgomasters and war commissioners deputed by the States-General. Joseph forgot, or cared not for, the obligations which his house lay under to the Dutch, and the solemn engagements which bound him to recognise the Barrier Treaty. He alleged that the Dutch misapplied the money; that they had shamefully surrendered many of the fortresses in the war of 1741; that they were now allowing the fortifications to fall to decay, and leaving thin and defective garrisons in them. In the beginning of the year 1781, when the Dutch had got into the war with England, the only real guardian of the Barrier Treaty, he peremptorily demanded precise accounts of the revenues received for the barrier, and of the sums expended on the fortifications. After some correspondence, the States-General acknowledged their weakness and submitted to necessity; towards the close of the year 1781 the Dutch garrisons were withdrawn from the barrier, and Joseph began to dismantle the fortresses and sell the materials. This work was scarcely commenced ere the States-General felt the most lively apprehensions for the frontiers of their own provinces, and adopted measures for putting their own fortresses along the Scheldt into an immediate state of defence. The people were furiously excited, and the Orange party, now rapidly increasing, pointed to the open barrier and the rising port of Ostend as signal proofs of the mischief brought upon the country by the French party, and the rupture of the old alliance with Great Britain. The French party nevertheless attributed every new misfortune to the Orangeists. The animosities of these antagonist parties waxed so fierce that every day seemed threaten a civil war. The return of peace with England could restore neither unanimity nor power. Prince Louis Duke of Brunswick Wolfenbüttle was guardian and repr

sentative of the young Stadtholder, William Frederick, during his minority, and field-marshal and commander-in-chief of the Dutch forces. He had long endured with rare temper the coarse and virulent attacks of the French party who accused him of a design to make his ward a tyrant; but at last he wrote a letter to the States-General, referring to his thirty-two years of faithful and well-meant service, and finally declaring that he resigned all the offices he held, and discharged himself from all obligations and engagements to the commonwealth. After this Frederick the Great of Prussia, as a near relative to the Stadtholder, and as the natural opponent to the House of Austria, interfered to allay these dissensions, which must inevitably leave Holland open to the Emperor Joseph or the French king, or to both of those monarchs. Frederick remonstrated, advised, and menaced; but even his powerful voice was disregarded in the loud fury of faction. In the mean time the Emperor Joseph had advanced sundry new claims, and had assumed a tone of haughty dictation towards the States-General. The most important of these new claims, and the most distressing to the Dutch, were those to the possession and sovereignty of the city and country of Maestricht, and the free navigation of the Scheldt, without which that other grand scheme of Austria, to re-elevate Antwerp to her ancient commercial importance, must fall to the ground. The States-General, after some very submissive and humiliating correspondence, despatched on the 21st of April, 1784, two plenipotentiaries to Brussels in order to treat with Joseph's agents for an amicable arrangement. But the very night after the arrival of the Dutch diplomatists at the capital of the Austrian Netherlands, a detachment of Austrian troops entered the territories of the Dutch republic, and took possession of the fort of Old Lillo; and in little more than a week after, some squadrons of Austrian dragoons crossed the frontiers at another point and pulled down the Dutch flag from the custom-house. These transactions carried rage and dismay to the furthermost dyke and canal of Holland. Some regiments of horse and

foot were despatched to Maestricht, and other troops were ordered to reinforce the different garrisons on the Scheldt; but, though everything seemed to depend upon celerity and unanimity, the movement of the troops was retarded by fresh disputes between the States and the Stadtholder. The only refuge for the Dutch seemed to be in the French, and they implored Louis XVI. to mediate between them and his wife's brother the emperor. Louis responded kindly to the Dutch application, assuring the Sates-General that he would act with fairness and impartiality.

The pretention to the free navigation of the Scheldt had been rather hinted than expressed: but an experiment was now made upon that river calculated to bring the question to issue. The emperor then inserted in his ultimatum his right to the absolute and independent sovereignty of the Scheldt from Antwerp to the sea, and the demand for the removal of the Dutch guard-ship at New Lillo, and the demolition of all the Dutch forts erected on that river. His minister at Brussels, Count Belgioso, further declared that the first shot fired by the Dutch upon the Scheldt would be considered as a declaration of war. Nor did the demands of the emperor end here, for he claimed a free navigation and uninterrupted commerce to and in both the East and West Indies. While the States-General and their negotiators were busied in drawing up remonstrances, and while the French were meditating without any great earnestness or alacrity, the imperialists prepared two armed vessels, to assert the right claimed in the Scheldt, and to provoke an open act of hostility. This happened upon the 8th of October, 1784; and within another week the emperor's ambassador was recalled from the Hague, the negotiations at Brussels were broken off, and an army of 60,000 n was ordered to march from the Austrian hereditary minions to the Netherlands. The French merely m representations to the emperor, and sent the Count Maillebois, but without any army, to assist the Dut who, shortly after, named him commander-in-chief of their forces. With the count went a few French offic

who acquired a knowledge of the country, and an acquaintance with some of its inhabitants, that proved serviceable a few years later when Holland was to be invaded and revolutionized by the French republic. In the month of November, 1784, by order of the States-General, a dyke was broken near Lillo, and all the adjacent country inundated to prevent the advance of the Austrians.* The army of 60,000 men had a long march to perform before they could reach the Scheldt, and, as they did not march more rapidly than was usual with them, the winter arrived before they did, and, instead of beginning hostilities on their arrival, they went into winter quarters. The firm ice that formed on the rivers, canals, inundations, and swamps, would have rendered easy their advance into the heart of Holland; but the Austrians were a people of routine, and they left it to those great innovators in war and politics, the French republicans, to try a winter campaign; and in the ensuing spring—the spring of the present year, 1785—it became known that the versatile and volatile emperor was secretly negotiating for the exchange of all the Austrian Netherlands against the electorate of Bavaria. It appears that the first certain knowledge of this scheme was obtained by Frederick the Great, who immediately formed a confederation among the Princes of Germany, including the King of England in his capacity of Elector of Hanover, to oppose and defeat it. On the 23rd of July a treaty was concluded for maintaining the indivisibility of the empire and the rights of the Germanic body. In spite of this hostile league, Joseph for some time seemed determined to persevere, and to obtain, even at the cost of a long war, a transfer of territory which would have been exceedingly advantageous to his house; but his attention was divided by vague schemes of aggrandisement on the side of European Turkey, and by other schemes too numerous and confused for one head; he perceived that no great reliance was to be placed upon

* It was said that from 40 to 50 men, women, and children, chiefly subjects of the emperor, were drowned by the sudden bursting of this dyke.

the promised assistance of the Tzarina, that the people of Bavaria were frantic at the idea of any such transfer, and he gradually gave up the project, denying that he had ever seriously entertained it. In the meanwhile the Dutch had concluded, or at least submitted to the conditions of a commercial league and close alliance with France. The French diplomatists boasted that an actual conquest of Holland could not have been more advantageous to their country. The principle of the armed neutrality was not forgotten, and, with a direct view to England, it was agreed that the French and Dutch should mutually guarantee to each other the liberty of the seas, the exemption from search, &c. With these treaties agreed upon, though not executed—with the consoling assurance that they had undone the system of policy of the maritime powers which had lasted nearly two centuries, the French ministers went actively to work as mediators between the Dutch and the emperor, who, in giving up the grand scheme of territorial exchange, seemed almost to have ceased thinking about the Netherlands or their concerns and interests, presently agreed to receive at Vienna two Dutch deputies, and to accept from them an apology. Joseph then told them that he should order his ambassador at Paris to resume the negotiation under the mediation of his brother the King of France. On the 20th of September preliminary articles were agreed to at Paris, and on the 8th of November the definitive treaty was signed at Fontainbleau under the guarantee as well as mediation of his Most Christian Majesty. Two days after the signing of this treaty, the compact between the French and Dutch was fully concluded, and it was ratified on Christmas day. In all the circumstances of the case, and in the deplorable anarchic state into which Holland ' ' thrown herself, it is difficult to perceive how any exer of English diplomacy could have prevented all that happened, and the perplexing union between the St and France. The anarchy, however, grew and increa so that it soon became doubtful whether it would speedily be the cause of overthrowing arrangem

which it had been the cause of making. The Orange party were disgusted at the whole French alliance and the subversion of the ancient leagues and systems with which their name and best fame were identified. During the late troubles, when the dykes of Holland were threatened by the Imperialists, great bodies of volunteers assembled for the defence of their country, and the citizens of all classes, like those of Ireland at the end of the American war, still retained their arms and their organization. Some of them entered into the court-town of the Hague, which was devoted, in a very remarkable manner, to the House of Orange; and a quarrel and collision were the consequences. The French faction in the States-General instantly took up the matter, and passed a vote depriving the Stadtholder of the government of the Hague and of his body-guard. That prince indignantly withdrew to his own patrimonial city of Breda. Frederick the Great remonstrated, threatened, in behalf of his young and unfortunate nephew; but not even the voice of that royal veteran could slacken the march of revolution.

A.D. 1786.—The British Parliament reassembled on the 24th of January. The king, in his speech, informed the Houses that the disputes which had appeared to threaten an interruption to the tranquillity of Europe had been brought to an amicable conclusion; that he continued to receive friendly assurances from foreign powers; that at home his subjects were experiencing the blessings of peace, in the improvement of trade, revenue, public credit, &c. His majesty, however, recommended particular attention to our naval strength. "But above all," said he, "let me recommend to your attention *the reduction of the national debt*."

Early in the session Pitt had moved for and obtained a select committee to examine into the public income and expenditure, and to report to the House what might be expected to be the annual amount of the income and expenditure in future; and on the 29th of March, together with the ways and means for the year, he brought under consideration the national debt and his new Sink-

ing Fund, or scheme for discharging that debt by compound interest. It appeared, from the report of the special committee, that the average of the public income exceeded the expenditure by about 900,000*l.*, and that the surplus might be increased to one million without burthening the people. Hence the minister moved "that the sum of one million be annually granted to commissioners, to be by them applied to the purchase of stock, towards discharging the public debt of the country." Wrapped in a happy vision, he calculated that the accumulated compound interest of this sum, added to the annuities which would fall into the fund, would in twenty-eight years reach such an amount as would leave a surplus of four millions per annum, to be applied, if necessary, to the exigencies of the state. In his speech, wherein he said not a word of his arithmetical mentor, Dr. Price,* he expressed more than a sanguine hope, he affirmed his entire conviction, that his new sinking fund would rapidly reduce and eventually discharge in toto "*the enormous national debt.*" The bill, with some additional clauses, was read a third time on the 15th of May, and carried up to the Lords, where it was passed without any material opposition. The king, in giving it his assent, felt that it would make all his financial odds even. Perhaps sufficient attention was not paid to other causes and improvements then getting into operation, but it was generally admitted, at the time, that the measure was one of excellent policy; that manufactures, trade, and public credit were immediately and immeasurably benefited by it—that it raised the funds, increased the value of land, and of everything else, and gave to every man the prosperity of a rising market.†

* It is said that Dr. Price submitted not one but t schemes to the consideration of the minister, and afterw complained that Pitt had selected the worst of the three.

† Recollections and Reflections, Personal and Politica connected with Public Affairs during the Reign of Ge III. By John Nicholls, Esquire, Member of the Hou Commons.

Such were considered its effects while coupled with the advantages of peace: how it operated in war we shall see hereafter.

Pursuing his plans for increasing the revenue so as to make up the million per annum required by his sinking fund, the minister, a few days after—on the 22nd of May—presented a bill for transferring certain duties on wines from the customs to the excise. This, he said, he proposed, because large quantities of wine were smuggled into the country, and because a spurious liquor was made and sold at home under that name. By the bill officers of the excise were to be permitted to enter into the cellars and warehouses of such as dealt in wine, but not into the dwelling-houses even of those persons. There was a strong national feeling against any extension of the excise laws, and the interference and intrusions of excisemen; this had always been the case, and it was remembered how an excise bill had nearly shaken Sir Robert Walpole, when at the height of his power, from his seat; but Pitt saw his bill carried through the House of Commons without a division. Lord Loughborough, Lord Carlisle, the Duke of Portland, Lord Sandwich, and the Bishop of Bristol, entered a protest against the bill, which, nevertheless, passed the Lords' House and received the royal assent.

Mr. Wilberforce, considering it hopeless, after his friend Pitt's failure, to think of carrying at present, any general measure of parliamentary reform, made an attempt to introduce some practical improvement into the representation as it stood. The plan which he proposed aimed at purifying county elections by establishing a general registration of the freeholders, and by providing that the poll should be held in various places at the same time. A bill embodying these principles, which, nearly half a century later, were included in the great Reform Bill, was moved in the House of Commons by Lord Mahon; but, as his lordship during the session was called up, by the death of his father, Earl Stanhope, to the House of Lords, the conduct of the measure was left chiefly to Wilberforce. The motion for going into

committee on the bill was carried by a majority of 98 to 22, on May the 15th. Wilberforce was the more eager for these reforms, as his own elections had cost him enormous sums. The bill was afterwards defeated in the Lords by what has been designated "a coalition of the king's friends and the Whig aristocracy."

But the great business of the session, or that at least which excited more interest than even the minister's sinking-fund scheme, was the impeachment of Mr. Warren Hastings, late governor-general of Bengal, the charges against whom, after long and numerous preludes, were brought forward by Burke on the 17th of February.

This appears to be the proper place to introduce a retrospective view of Indian affairs, which will include some details of the progress of our arms and policy in that part of the world—details omitted in the preceding period of our history, in order not to embarrass the narrative of the American war.

Few great things have had a smaller beginning than that stupendous anomaly, the British empire in India. In the year 1612, in the reign of James I., the English, stimulated by the efforts and successes of the Portuguese and Dutch, established their first humble factory at Surat. By degrees other petty settlements were formed along the western side of the peninsula, Surat continuing to have the control over them all, till the cession of Bombay to the company by Charles II., in 1668, when that town, from its fine harbour and central situation, rose to be the superior settlement in that part of India. At this period the nominal sovereigns and masters of the whole of India, and the real masters and tyrants of the greatest part of it, were the Mohammedanized Mogul Tartars, a people widely different in origin, manners, laws, and religion from the Hindus, the aboriginal or very ancient inhabitants of the country.

In the tenth century of our era, or about seven years before the conquest of England by the Norman Sultan Mahmood of Ghizni, who is universally regarded as the first Mohammedan conqueror of Hindustan, acquired by the sword, and by many battles and massa-

nearly the whole of the country from the Indus to the Ganges. The great Emperor Akbar, who began to reign in 1556, set the Mogul dominion upon a firm basis, chiefly by consulting the interests and feelings of the Hindus, who, counting the whole of the extensive country, were a hundred-fold more numerous than their conquerors. The great Akbar had been dead only seven years when the English timidly made their first settlement at Surat.

The Portuguese, who had numerous settlements along the Malabar coast, especially at Goa and Diu, and who claimed, on the ground of prior possession, an exclusive right to the commerce of the Indian seas—a pretension they were, for a long time, enabled to make good by possessing Malacca—watched the progress of the English with great jealousy, and from the first attempted to check it. The English Company armed their trading vessels, and, though there was peace in Europe between the respective mother countries, several combats took place with the Portuguese on the Indian seas. Captain Best, in the year 1612, defeated them in two actions, and these victories not only raised the reputation of the English, but enabled them to establish in quiet their first factory at Surat. In the year 1614 King James, at the solicitation of the infant company, sent an embassy to the court of the Emperor of Delhi to settle their commerce and cultivate a friendly connexion. Sir Thomas Roe, the person selected for this mission, was an observing and clever man. He sailed from Gravesend on the 24th of January, 1615, and arrived in September at Surat, where he landed in great pomp with eighty men-at-arms in his train. As the Mogul emperor was then residing at Ajmere, Sir Thomas, after some rest, proceeded thither through the country of the Rajpoots. He arrived at Ajmere on the 23rd of December, but was not admitted to court till the 10th of January (1616). The Emperor Jehanghire received him with unusual honour, and he was assured by the Mogul courtiers that no other ambassador, not even from their co-religionists the Mohammedans of Turkey or Persia, had ever obtained so

flattering a reception. Many other interviews followed; and, as both the emperor and ambassador were of a sportive turn, they had, by means of interpreters, some jocular conversation. Sir Thomas, however, soon found that his success was thwarted by the intrigues of the Portuguese missionaries, and by the suspicion or caution of the emperor's favourite son and ministers. With much perseverance and address, he at last succeeded in procuring a confirmation of former grants of territory, and an extended privilege of having resident English agents at some of the principal towns in the empire.

The Portuguese were prevented only by the inferiority of their naval power from proceeding to war against the new English settlements. The Dutch, who were more on a par with us in this respect, viewed with an equally jealous eye the successes of the company; and when the English attempted to obtain a share in the lucrative trade carried on by the Dutch with the Spice Islands, the detestable massacre of Amboyna was the immediate consequence. At the island of Amboyna, the largest of the Molucca group, and the richest in cloves, the Dutch had a strong castle with a garrison of 200 men, while the English, only 18 in number, occupied a defenceless house in the town, being secured, as they conceived, in possession of it by agreements and treaties with the Dutch. Yet the Dutch chose to suspect that this handful of English intended to dispossess them of their castle; and thereupon, inviting them all in a friendly manner to pay a visit to their governor in the castle, they put them to rack and torture, until some of the weakest of them, under the agonies of those infernal machines, confessed to the words which their torturers put into their mouths. As soon as their sufferings were suspended they retracted what they had said; but the Dutch put them upon the rack again, and then the anguish and the weakness of nature repeated the confession. The end of all was that Captain Towerson and nine others were condemned to die, by what may properly be called the verdict of the rack; and the remaining eight were pardoned by Divine mercy and magnanimity. One Portuguese and nine

tives of Japan, put to death at the same time as accomplices with the English, solemnly protested in dying that they knew nothing of the imputed plot.

From the occurrence of this frightful tragedy (in 1622) the English abandoned the commerce of the Spice Islands to their rivals; and for some time, owing to various causes, such as the smallness of capital held by the company, some radical defects in its constitution, the heavy expenses incurred in keeping up a naval force for protection against Dutch and Portuguese, and the waywardness of some of the native princes, the English power seemed to decline, and the company became embarrassed and in great distress. In the mean time, however, their agents from Surat had obtained permission, through the good offices of Mr. Boughton, a surgeon in great favour with the Emperor of Delhi, Shah Jehan, son of Jehanghire, to make a new settlement at Hooghly; and the ground on which Madras, or Fort St. George, stands had been obtained from a native prince in 1640, when Mr. Francis Day began to erect a fortress, which was gradually surrounded by a thriving and still increasing town, to which the natives flocked as to the best place for pursuing trade and putting in security the wealth they derived from it—wealth which had few safeguards under the dominion or in the territories of their own princes and chiefs. In the same interval the Mogul empire had been shaken by several revolutions and changes in its interior or upon its frontiers: the Hindus of Rajpoot had recommenced their struggles for independence; the Afghans had revolted in the north, the Usbeks had taken possession of Cabul, and the Persians of Candahar. In all places remote from the centre of government the Mohammedan chiefs paid but an imperfect obedience to the Great Mogul; and, wherever favoured by local situation, or defended by mountains, forests, or rivers, the Hindus bade defiance to the emperor and his lieutenants.

Then came on the great civil war in England between the parliament and Charles I., during which nearly all foreign trade was suspended, and the company sunk to

such a state of insignificance that its existence as a body corporate was scarcely discernible. Indeed, from the year 1652 to 1657 the trade to India was thrown open to every English merchant that chose to embark in it. But, at the end of that period, Oliver Cromwell renewed or re-confirmed the privileges of the old company. Shortly after the restoration of monarchy, Charles II. granted the company a new charter, dated April, 1661, in which not only were all the old privileges confirmed, but new and important ones added to them. The company were vested with a right of exercising civil jurisdiction and military authority; and with the power of making war and of concluding peace with the "Infidels of India," the state reserving to itself the prerogatives of peace and war with regard to Christian or European governments. In 1663 Charles II. obtained, as a part of the dower of his wife, the Infanta of Portugal, the island of Bombay, and, finding it expensive rather than profitable, he ceded the island to the company in the year 1668. Soon after he made a similar grant of that convenient midway resting-place the island of St. Helena; and in other important matters the aid of his government was cordially given to the company—the more cordially, no doubt, because some of his ministers and favourites were shareholders and speculators, and personally interested with the merchants—not yet merchant-princes—of Leadenhall-street. In 1687 the company transferred from Surat to Bombay the presidency over all their settlements, and from that moment the town began to spread and increase very rapidly. The English were anxious to have possession of the neighbouring island of Salsette, and maintained that it was included in the dower with Bombay; but the Portuguese took a different reading of the marriage treaty, and kept Salsette.*

Trade was now carried on with a great part of Indian empire through establishments both on the east and western coast; but the intercourse was liable to

* Bruce, Annals of the East India Company.—Mill, Brit. Ind.

terruptions, and the forts and factories were not unfrequently threatened with hostile attack by the native powers, urged on in most cases by the Portuguese or by the Dutch. The weakness, the dissensions, and not unfrequent wars among the natives, encouraged the English settlers to abandon the merely defensive, and act on the offensive. The factors in Bengal transmitted to the company a list of wrongs and injuries sustained from the petty native rulers, and warmly recommended an active campaign against them beyond the limits of the company's settlements, which must become untenable or useless if allowed to be beleaguered and blocked up by the Indians. As the company had the power of war or peace with the Infidels, they sent out, in 1686, a Captain Nicholson with ten armed vessels and six companies of soldiers to levy war against the Great Mogul and the Nabob of Bengal.* The object of the campaign was to seize and fortify Chittagong. The fleet sailed up the Hooghly and commenced a cannonade, but they were repulsed, and obliged to seek shelter near Calcutta, where they lay till some agreement with the Nabob, or additional forces from England, should enable them to resume their stations. A hollow truce was agreed to by the Nabob, who employed the time thus gained in making warlike preparations. As soon as he was ready the English were attacked by an immense host; but, under the direction of Charnock, the company's agent, they made a gallant defence, repulsed repeated assaults, stormed the fort of Tanna, seized the island of Ingellee, in which they fortified themselves, and burnt the town of Ballasore, with forty sail of the Mogul fleet. But, on the other hand, the Nabob took and plundered the English factories at Patna and Cossimbuzar; and the campaign ended, not in any great conquest, but in an accommodation neither very honourable nor very reliable for the company. The court of directors, disappointed and irritated, sent Sir John Child, the governor of Bombay, to take the com-

* Sir John Malcolm, Sketch of the Political History of India.

mand over the head of Charnock, with instructions to re-establish, if possible, the factories at Patna and Cossimbuzar. Some of the company's servants were carrying on pacific negotiations with the natives when Captain Heath arrived from England with a large ship and a frigate, and, without the necessary forms, commenced hostilities by plundering one or two native towns. After this work he proceeded to Chittagong, and was there foiled and defeated, as Captain Nicholson had been before him. Heath then, taking the company's servants and effects on board, sailed away for Madras; and Bengal, upon which large sums had been spent, was abandoned. The emperor now reigning was the celebrated Aurengzebe, the most powerful of all the Mogul sovereigns, who had dethroned his father, and triumphed over his brothers who contested the empire with him.* Aurengzebe, though previously well disposed towards the English, was indignant at their last proceedings, and issued orders for expelling them from his dominions. The factory at Surat was seized, the island of Bombay was surrounded by a fleet, and the English governor cooped up in the town and castle. The factory at Masulipatam was seized, as was also the factory at Visigapatam, where the company's agent and several of their servants were put to death. But the Mogul treasury soon felt the want of the copious streams that flowed into it through the English factories; and Aurengzebe and his ministers, flattered by the recent display of weakness into the belief that the company would never be strong enough to be dangerous, made a return towards their old friendly feeling, and listened to negotiations which were proposed

* Aurengzebe had revived and extended the Mogul power, which seemed falling to ruin under his father Shah Jehan. He had taken the cities of Hyderabad, Bejapore, and Golconda, and had extended his dominions nearly to the limits of the Carnatic. But it was during his brilliant reign that a new enemy took the field. This was Sevajee, the founder of the Mahratta empire, who, with the most warlike of the Hindus, overran and permanently occupied the far greater part of the Deccan.

in a most humble, if not abject, tone. After some time the English obtained an order for the restoration of Bombay and their factory at Surat. But during these premature contests with the natives, the most able and powerful of their European enemies had contrived to get a footing in India: the French had formed an establishment at Pondicherry, and were now employing themselves in fortifying that place and in establishing a close connexion with such of the natives as were most unfriendly to the English. These proceedings quickened the desire of obtaining an extension of territory and a real dominion by treaty, by purchase, or by force of arms, but to be at all events independent of the Great Mogul, nabobs, and all other powers. "The truth is," says one of the greatest authorities in Indian affairs; "that, from the day on which the company's troops marched one mile from their factories, the increase of their territories and their armies became a principle of self-preservation; and at the end of every one of those numerous contests in which they were involved by the jealousy, avarice, or ambition of their neighbours, or the rapacity or ambition of their own servants, they were forced to adopt measures for improving their strength; which soon appeared to be the only mode by which they could avert the occurrence of similar danger."* In 1689 the directors broadly laid down the principle that independence was to be established and dominion acquired in India. And just at this time their policy was to some extent gratified, for Tegnapatam, a town and port a little to the south of the French settlement of Pondicherry, was obtained by purchase, and secured by grant from the native powers. The servants of the company forthwith erected walls and bulwarks, and changed the name of the place to Fort St. David. After this acquisition the company pursued their plan of dominion with increased confidence, and soon after they may be said to have commenced a system of political ascendency. About nine years after the purchase

* Sir John Malcolm, Sketch of the Political History of India.

of Tegnapatam they were enabled to make a more important acquisition. Aurengzebe had appointed his son Azim Ooshaun to be viceroy of Bengal, and this Azim aspired to dethrone his father, as Aurengzebe had dethroned his. His grand scheme required money and arms, and the company could promise both for valuable considerations. For a large sum Azim Ooshaun sold to the company the Zemindarships of Chutanutty, Govindpoor, and Calcutta. At the last-named place the English began, but not without some timidity and circumspection, to erect Fort William. Nine years after this, in 1707, when the fort was strong and considerable, and a town had risen under its protecting shadow, the company made Calcutta the seat of a presidency, and the place gradually began to rise to the dignity of a capital of the British empire in the East.

The tranquillity and commercial prosperity which the peace of Utrecht, dishonourable as it was to the Tory government of Queen Anne, indisputably brought to England, and to the greater part of Europe, all contributed to raise the value of the British settlements in the East, and to encourage the company in seeking an extension of dominion; for still all that was really occupied in sovereignty was a strip of land on the coast and an island here and there. The disseverance of the Mogul empire, which began with the death of Aurengzebe in 1707, seemed to offer an opening to their ambition. After a very short reign of Shah Alum the four sons of that emperor contended for the throne, and during this horrible family war the Mahrattas extended their conquests in the south, the Rajpoots virtually established their independence, and the Sikhs, a remarkable sect who professed a pure theism and attempted to reconcile the religion of the Mussulmans with that of the Hin ravaged the provinces of Delhi and Lahore. Moez-ed who triumphed over his brothers, was dethroned at end of a few months by his nephew Farrukhsi Feroksir, who did not occupy the throne quite s years. Under his successor, Mohammed Shah, empire of the Moguls was wasted to a shadow: the

can was alienated under the rule of of the Nizam-al-Mulk, by name a viceroy, but in fact an independent sovereign, more powerful than the Great Mogul; the Rohillas, a fierce predatory people of the Afghan race, seized on the northern provinces; and (in 1739) the Persians under Nadir Shah penetrated to Delhi and massacred alike Mohammedans and Hindus. The company were signally indebted in various stages of their progress to humble practitioners in medicine. It was in consequence of a cure effected on the favourite daughter of one emperor that they had been first allowed a footing in Bengal; and in the year 1715 a medical man named Hamilton, who accompanied a commercial mission to Delhi, obtained for the company a grant of three villages near Madras, with permission to purchase thirty-seven additional townships in Bengal, as a reward for curing the reigning emperor Feroksir of a dangerous and painful illness, which was beyond the reach of the skill of the native physicians or conjurers. By the hostility of the Nabob the company were for a long time prevented from purchasing the villages and townships; but they were allowed to enjoy another grant obtained through Hamilton from the grateful emperor—namely, the privilege of introducing and conveying their goods from Calcutta through Bengal without duty or search. In a very short time the trade of the company was wonderfully benefited by this privilege. But the French East India Company, who had made Pondicherry their stronghold, now began to thwart some of their plans, and to excite their jealousy by an increasing trade.

In 1742, when a war between England and France appeared to be imminent in spite of the pacific temper of the great English minister, Sir Robert Walpole, the French company, who were still in their infancy, and very anxious for the preservation of their profitable or promising trade, proposed to the English company that, whatever might happen in Europe, there should be peace between them in India. The English court of directors at first accepted, and then rejected this proposed neutrality, instructing their officers in India to watch,

and, if possible, to circumvent the treaties and intrigues of the French company with the natives. In 1744 Walpole was driven from the helm; and the war, which broke out between the French and English, rapidly spread to Hindostan. Labourdonnais, who had risen from a subordinate rank in the navy to be governor of the Mauritius and Bourbon, by forcibly detaining all the French vessels that touched at those islands, and by training the merchant sailors to the use of the gun, got together a warlike squadron, and with all possible secrecy stretched across the Indian Ocean. He was well acquainted with the coasts, and with most of the European settlements, having previously made three or four voyages to that part of the world. His bravery was equal to his skill, and he resolved to begin his operations with an attack on Madras. He had with him a most motley crew and army of Frenchmen, Caffres, blacks from Madagascar, and negro slaves from the Mauritius, to which he had added, at Pondicherry, about 400 sepoys. The total amount was about 3600. The English in the colony of Madras did not exceed 300 men, of whom about 200 were soldiers: the town and the adjoining territory belonging to the company had already a population of about 250,000, counting Armenians, Mohammedans, Hindus, Parsees, and Indian Christians, the converts or half-caste descendants of the Portuguese; but none of these classes could be depended upon in war. The 300 English occupied Fort St. George, which was surrounded with a weak wall, and defended by bastions and four batteries weak and badly constructed. About the middle of September Labourdonnais appeared off the town, and immediately commenced a bombardment. The inhabitants endeavoured to save the place by offering him a ransom; but he was anxious for the glory of planting the French colours on Fort St. Geo , and continued to bombard for five days, at the of which the inhabitants, and the English garrison well, capitulated. Labourdonnais had not lost a n and the English had lost no more than four or five. the terms of the capitulation he pledged himself n

his honour to restore Madras to the English company on payment of a fixed ransom. On entering the place he protected the persons, houses, and property of the inhabitants; but he took possession of the magazines and warehouses of the company, all situated within Fort St. George, as public property. In his instructions from the French court, Labourdonnais was expressly prohibited from occupying any establishment or factory of the enemy; whence it has been argued that the French government and French East India Company shrank at this time from all idea of conquest in India. But if this was the case, and it seems to us extremely doubtful, M. Dupleix, the governor of Pondicherry, was resolved not to abide by any such plan, having previously formed in his own mind a system of universal conquest in that great peninsula; and the first object, and that which he had most at heart, was to drive the last remnant of the English from the coast of Coromandel. Dupleix, who had wished for the sole conduct of the war, considered Labourdonnais as an intruder and rival. Now, however, he insisted that Labourdonnais should break the conditions of the treaty of capitulation and keep possession of Madras. The brave sailor was averse to a proceeding which would have been both a breach of faith and honour, and a breach of orders; but he was compelled by the storms of the monsoon, which drove his ships out to sea and sank two of them with their crews, to demand from the English that the articles should be so far altered as to allow him longer time to remove the company's goods; and the period of evacuation was changed from the 15th of October to the 15th of January. This was what Dupleix desired; for he proposed upon the departure of Labourdonnais, to take possession of Madras himself without any attention to the articles of capitulation. Leaving part of his force in Fort St. George, Labourdonnais repaired to Pondicherry as soon as the weather would permit, and proposed several plans, to none of which his rival would agree. After many quarrels he took his departure for France, to answer the accusations of his enemies, and to procure a patronage in the French

cabinet and East India Company that should enable him to return with credit and power to India. On his voyage he was taken prisoner by a British ship-of-war, which brought him to England.

Labourdonnais had scarcely quitted Madras when the Nabob of Arcot sent his son with a numerous army to drive the French out of that place. The force which Labourdonnais had left behind him in Fort St. George exceeded 1200 men, nearly all native French, and well trained and disciplined. The Indians were astonished and panic-stricken by the rapidity of their artillery; and after a very short struggle the Nabob's son fled with all his host. Dupleix, backed by a remonstrance and prayer signed by all the French in Pondicherry, declared Labourdonnais's treaty of ransom annulled, and ordered the officers at Madras to seize every article of property there, private or public, native or English, except clothes, furniture, and the jewels and trinkets of the women. These orders were executed without compunction; and the English governor and some of the principal inhabitants were carried prisoners to Pondicherry, and exhibited there in a kind of triumph. Dupleix then turned his attention to Fort St. David, situated only twelve miles south from Pondicherry, and having in its immediate neighbourhood the Indian town of Cuddalore and two or three populous villages, all under the dominion of the English company. On the night of the 19th of December (1746) the Frenchman quitted Pondicherry with 1700 men, Europeans, natives, and Caffres, and he arrived next morning under Fort St. David, wherein there were only about 200 Europeans and 100 Topasses. The French had already begun to train the native sepoys to European discipline, but the English had delayed following the example.* They had, however, hired about 2000 of the undisciplined bands of the country, most irregularly armed with swords and targets, bows and arrows, pikes and lances, old matchlocks or new English muskets; and they had placed about half

* Mill.

of this force in Cuddalore, which was partly surrounded by water and partly by walls flanked by bastions. As for Fort St. David it was small, but much stronger than Fort St. George. The French, however, took up an advantageous post, and were making sure of the capture and plunder of both places, when a large native army appeared on their right flank and induced them to make a sudden and rather disastrous retreat, leaving (without counting their Indians or Africans) above 100 in killed and wounded behind them. This relieving army had been sent by the Nabob of Arcot, instigated by wrath against the French for the defeat of his son at Madras, and captivated with the liberality of the English, who had promised him large sums.

But the nearness of the place to Pondicherry tempted the French to make fresh efforts. On the night of the 10th of January, 1747, Dupleix embarked 500 men in boats to take Cuddalore by surprise. But the wind and the surf compelled the Frenchman to return to Pondicherry without doing anything. Dupleix then sent a strong detachment from Madras to ravage the Nabob's territory. The French troops acted in a barbarous manner, and caused still more terror than mischief. Shortly after four French ships arrived at Pondicherry, and Dupleix artfully represented that he was speedily to be reinforced to an immense extent. The Nabob began to waver; he saw that the English were but a handful of men, and he decided, with Eastern facility, to change sides and join the stronger: he concluded peace with the French, recalled the army he had sent to the English, and despatched his son on a visit to Pondicherry, where Dupleix got up a fresh show and triumph. About the middle of March of the same year, 1747, Dupleix again sent his forces to capture Cuddalore and Fort St. David; but the Frenchmen had scarcely taken up their position when an English squadron, under Admiral Griffin, approached the road and scared them back to Pondicherry. While they were retreating precipitately to Pondicherry the admiral landed 100 Englishmen, 200 Topasses, and

500 natives; from Bombay and Tellicherry.* Dupleix now apprehended an attack by the English on his own head-quarters; and, to save his ships, he sent them away to the Mauritius to wait there till they should be joined by a fresh squadron from France. In the month of January, 1748, Major Laurence, an officer of great merit, arrived at Fort St. David with a commission to command the whole of the company's forces in India. He had not been there long ere Dupleix attempted another night attack on Cuddalore: Laurence allowed the French to approach the very walls of the town, and even to apply their scaling ladders; but then, as they were fancying the garrison had been withdrawn, he met them in the teeth with artillery and musketry, and drove them away in disorder. Though England had then upon her hands a war with Spain, France, and Holland, and had only recently recovered from the civil war in the northern part of the island, caused by the invasion of the young pretender, she despatched nine ships of war, under Admiral Boscawen, to co-operate with eleven ships of the company, carrying stores and troops. Boscawen arrived at Fort St. David on the 9th of August, and, joining Admiral Griffin, found himself at the head of the largest European force that any one power had as yet possessed in India. The land troops brought from England amounted to 1400 men. It was confidently hoped that the loss of Madras would speedily be revenged by the capture of Pondicherry; but the siege of the French Indian capital was undertaken without a sufficient knowledge of the localities, was conducted with little ability or spirit, and was raised when the trenches had been opened for thirty-one days.† The French were regarded by the natives as a superior people; but before they could avail themselves of their prestige, peace was con-

* The Topasses, whose name frequently occurs in the history of our early Indian wars, were native Christians, the converts or half-caste descendants of the Portuguese.

† Mémoires pour M. Dupleix, as cited in Mill's Hist. Brit. India.

cluded in Europe between England and France, and hostilities were suspended in India.

The still growing dissensions, the wretched weakness and anarchy of the whole country, soon encouraged the English to persevere in their old scheme of territorial aggrandisement. Sahujee, a Hindu prince, who, in the rapid revolutions of that country, had gained and lost the throne of Tanjore, repaired to Fort St. David and entreated the assistance of the English in a war against his brother, Pretaupa Sing, who had dethroned him. As the price of this assistance Sahujee offered the fort and country of Devi-Cottah, advantageously situated by the banks of the Coleroon, on the coast of Coromandel. In the beginning of April, 1749, 430 Englishmen and about 1000 sepoys marched from Fort St. David into Tanjore; and, as a natural beginning to the war, directed their first attacks against the fortress, which was to be ceded to the company. But Devi-Cottah was stronger than was expected; the small train of artillery they carried with them proved insufficient; they were disappointed in the co-operation of an English squadron and of the people of the country, which had both been promised them; and they marched back to Fort St. David foiled and humiliated. The impatience of Sahujee to recover his throne, and their own eager appetite for territory and dominion, soon induced the English to renew their attempt. A new expedition was fitted out at Fort St. David, the troops were landed, a breach was made in the walls of Devi-Cottah, the deep river Coleroon was crossed by means of a raft, and the place was stormed. After some hard fighting in the breach and on the ramparts behind it a truce was concluded, the reigning king of Tanjore, Pretaupa Sing, agreeing to yield to the English the town, fort, and harbour, together with a territory adjoining; and the English on their part agreeing, not merely to renounce the support of Sahujee, for whom and with whom they had entered on this war, but also to secure his person in order to prevent his giving any further molestation to his bro-

ther.* At the siege of Devi-Cottah, Robert Clive, who was eventually to be the real founder of the British empire in India, greatly distinguished himself. Clive, who had attracted some attention in the preceding year at the siege of Pondicherry, had entered the company's service in a civil capacity, but he had very soon thrown down the pen of a writer to take up an ensign's sword. By this time he had attained to the rank of lieutenant, and was esteemed by the whole army as the most enterprising and daring of their officers. He was in the twenty-fourth year of his age, poor, and, comparatively, friendless and illiterate; and his chances of patronage, fame, and fortune, all lay in his sword.† However foully obtained, the possession of Devi-Cottah was of vast importance to the Company.

But while these events were in progress, the French, whose policy and operations continued to be guided by Dupleix, were engaged in transactions of the highest moment, and taking part in a great revolution in the Carnatic. The succession to the Carnatic was disputed by a number of princes, and Dupleix conceived that by siding with the strongest of the claimants, Chunda Saheb, who had collected a large army, and was eagerly courting French assistance, he might obtain not only vast cessions of territory, but by degrees a complete ascendency in the whole of southern India. In addition to the armed disputes for the great succession, there were contentions equally fierce among the minor princes for the possession of other dominions, some bordering on the Carnatic, and some included in it. A body of 400 French soldiers and 2000 sepoys were sent by Dupleix from Pondicherry; and in the first battle fought with these allies Chunda Saheb saw the most powerful of his rivals killed by a ball fired by a Caffre soldier in the ser-

* Orme, History of the Military Transactions of the Br tish Nation in India.—Mill. Hist. of British India.

† Sir John Malcolm, Life of Robert Lord Clive; collect from the family papers, communicated by the Earl of Pow

vice of France. Mohammed Ali, son to the fallen nabob, fled to Trichinopoly, a strong city, and the conquerors marched to Arcot, which surrendered at the first summons. From Trichinopoly Mohammed Ali despatched envoys to the English to solicit their succour, and to promise the highest of prices for their alliance; but the British officers in command had received no orders from home that could justify their embarking upon a scene of such extensive operations; they were few in number, and their whole European force only a few companies; and, moreover, they were occupied at the time in taking possession anew of Madras, which had been given up by the French, in compliance with the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle.

In the neighbouring regions of the Deccan—the great and populous country which had formerly held dominion over the whole of the Carnatic—the succession on the death of Nizam-al-Mulk, in 1748, had been disputed between his son Nazir Jung and his grandson Muzuffer Jung; but the senior prince had prevailed over the junior, had taken Muzuffer Jung prisoner, and now kept him in irons, carrying him in his train wherever he went. Nazir Jung and Anwar-ud-Dien, who claimed the sovereignty of the Carnatic, having united their forces, and drawn into their service nearly all the troops the Great Mogul had on foot, advanced to the Carnatic frontier with an enormous army, including 30,000 Mahrattas who had been engaged to act as light cavalry. At the approach of this host Chunda Saheb and his French allies retreated hastily to Pondicherry. Dupleix, by extraordinary exertions, increased the French contingent to 2000 men, and added a large body of well-disciplined sepoys, together with a well-served train of artillery. In the meantime the English had managed to send some very small detachments to Trichinopoly to sustain Mohammed Ali, and had thrown a few companies into the army of the Rajah of Tanjore. Major Laurence advanced from Fort St. David with reinforcements, and, collecting the companies in Tanjore, he was enabled to join the army of Nazir Jung with about 600 Englishmen. But Lau-

rence had with difficulty obtained the consent of his civil superiors to this active co-operation, and he was for some time disturbed by a doubt whether he should be justified in fighting the French without orders from the British government. He, however, determined to imitate the French in representing the English as mere auxiliaries and not principals in the war. As Laurence advanced with Nazir Jung's host, the French and their allies strongly entrenched themselves, and waited the attack. At this crisis the French corps was completely disorganized by the sudden resignation of thirteen commissioned officers, who were enraged at not having shared in the booty and spoils made in Tanjore. As the defection seemed growing general, M. d'Auteuil, who commanded for Dupleix, deemed it expedient to quit the field and hasten back to Pondicherry. Chunda Saheb, whose own troops began to desert, saw nothing better to do than to march after d'Auteuil. The whole excellent position was soon abandoned without a blow, or a shot fired from it; and for a moment the triumph of the allies of the English appeared to be fully secured. But Nazir Jung, the real head of this confederacy, had little ability and still less energy; and, by refusing to grant to his English allies a territory near Madras which had been promised as the reward of their co-operation, he provoked Major Laurence to return to Fort St. David with the 600 men. Nor had Dupleix lost heart by his most unexpected misfortune: by various arts he pacified the mutinous French officers, and put a new spirit into their little army; and he opened a secret correspondence with some disaffected chiefs, the leaders of the Patan troops, in the army of his enemy, Nazir Jung. These Patans were unprincipled and ferocious mercenaries, ever ready to sell their services to the highest bidder, or to betray their trust for money. Responding to overtures of Dupleix, the Patan chiefs engaged to form various important services, and, if necessary murder their present employer, Nazir Jung. D'Aut again took the field, and one of his officers with only men was allowed to penetrate by night into the very h of the enemy's camp, and to kill upwards of a thous

without losing more than two or three of his own people. Moreover, another small body of French troops sailed to Masulipatam, attacked it by surprise in the night, and carried it with a trifling loss; and another detachment seized the pagoda of Travadi, only fifteen miles to the west of Fort St. David. Continuing this career, M. Bussy, the Clive of the French, captured by storm the hill-fort of Gingee, which had been deemed impregnable and inaccessible. The event struck awe into the natives of India, and was viewed with astonishment even by Europeans. Soon after the storming of Gingee, Nazir Jung opened, or renewed, a correspondence with Dupleix. The wily Frenchman replied to his letters in a friendly manner, and drew up a treaty of pacification which he professed would satisfy himself and his allies and restore the blessings of peace to the Carnatic, the unfortunate inhabitants of which country had suffered nearly every extremity of misery from this and preceding wars.

But at the same time Dupleix had fully arranged a revolt in Nazir Jung's camp, and had collected a force of 4000 men, French or well-disciplined sepoys, under the high hill of Gingee, who were to obey the summons of the Patan traitors, and to co-operate with them. The doomed Subahdar signed the treaty as sent to him by Dupleix, and returned it to the head-quarters of the French; but at the same moment, or shortly before the arrival of the peace-restoring document, there arrived in the same camp the concerted summons of the Patan conspirators; and the French force under the command of M. Delatouche silently moved off to attack, under cover of night, the betrayed army of Nazir Jung. Delatouche encountered some resistance from the rest of the army, but the Patan mercenaries remained passive spectators. Nazir Jung mounted his war-elephant and hastened to the lines of the Patan chiefs, ignorant of their treachery, and hoping to excite them to exertion; but as he raised himself on the seat of his elephant to salute those ferocious chiefs, two carabine balls were fired at his heart, and he fell dead at the feet of the

traitors, who forthwith cut off his head, stuck it upon a spear, and exhibited it to the army. This was quite enough to effect an instantaneous revolution: Muzuffer Jung, the ally of the French and of Chunda Saheb, was released from his confinement in the camp and installed as Subahdar of the Deccan, although there were four brothers of the murdered Nazir Jung on the spot.* Muzuffer Jung, who had so rapidly passed from a prison to a throne, hastened to Pondicherry to express his gratitude for the friendship and his admiration of the policy and decision of Dupleix. As substantial proofs of his thankfulness, he lavished upon the Frenchman a great part of the treasures of Nazir Jung, and nominated him governor of all the Mogul dominions on the coast of Coromandel from the river Kistna to Cape Comorin; appointing his close ally, Chunda Saheb, his deputy in the government of Arcot. But the new Subahdar and Dupleix failed in satisfying the cupidity of the Patan chiefs, who departed for the interior full of rancour and revenge. Mohammed Ali, late the ally of the English, sustained himself within the strong walls of Trichinopoly till the assassination of Nazir Jung and the union of the Great Mogul's army with the French; but now he fled and offered to resign all claim to the Carnatic, provided Dupleix would obtain for him from the new Subahdar of his own making a separate command in some other part of the Deccan. In the beginning of the year 1751 it was found necessary to attend to insurrections which had broken out—not without encouragement from the English or the native friends of the company—in various parts of the Carnatic; and the new Subahdar took the field accompanied by the French contingent, again under the command of the brave and skilful Bussy. On their march into the interior a revolt broke out in part of their own army; and it was discovered that a mountain-

* Colonel Wilkes. Dupleix, to cast off the infamy treachery, asserts in his Memoirs, that, on receiving treaty signed by Nazir Jung, he wrote off immediately Delatouche to prevent further hostilities, but that his le arrived too late.

in their front was occupied by the fierce Patan chiefs with their hardy tribes. Bussy gave instant orders for clearing the pass, and this was soon done by the French artillery and grape-shot. But in pursuing the fugitive Patans the new Subahdar received a Patan arrow in his brain, which proved as instantaneously fatal to him as the carabines had been to his predecessor. The native army hereupon would have packed up their rice-kettles to disband and to return to their homes; but Bussy instantly proclaimed a new Subahdar in the person of Salabut Jung, who happened to be in the camp. The native army received Salabut Jung with acclamations of great joy, and he forthwith confirmed to the French the splendid grants made by his predecessor. The army then continued its march to Hyderabad, one of the French officers informing Dupleix by letter that in a very short time the Mogul would tremble on his throne at the name of the French. The council of the company were thrown into consternation, and almost into despair, by the sudden ascendency acquired by Dupleix; and they endeavoured to encourage Mohammed Ali, and induce him to break off his negotiations by which Trichinopoly was to have been surrendered to the French. Mohammed Ali had courage enough left to return to Trichinopoly, and to declare that he would hold that important place to the last extremity; and hereupon the English pledged themselves to support and assist him with ships, troops, and money. But small was the force that the government of Fort St. David could collect for this purpose; and, as Major Laurence had taken his departure for England, they were at a loss to know what officer they should appoint to the command of it. As Lieutenant Clive seemed too young and too low in rank, they at last gave the chief command to one Captain Cope, who might have been of the same stock as Sir John Cope, the hero of Prestonpans. With 600 men in all, including sepoys, Captain Cope advanced to Madura, which still adhered to Mohammed Ali; but he marched back again without striking a blow for his ally, who thereupon was speedily besieged in Trichinopoly

by the French and the forces under Chunda Saheb. As Trichinopoly, on the south bank of the great river Cauvery, was a place of vital importance—the only place that remained of all the Carnatic in the hands of their ally—and as the French were proving to them what they might expect in their ill-defended factories and settlements on the coast, by planting white flags in almost every field around their boundaries, and in some instances even within their limits, the presidency of Fort St. David were roused to greater exertions, and they collected 500 Europeans, 100 Caffres, and 1000 sepoys to march to the relief of the besieged city. This time the command was given, not to Captain Cope, but to a Captain Gingen, who appears to have been as incompetent an officer, as weak and undecided, as Cope. Clive went with the expedition, but unfortunately merely as commissary of provisions. Gingen, about the beginning of April, 1751, started from Fort St. David, and at nearly the same time Chunda Saheb, leaving part of his forces in the neighbourhood of Trichinopoly, began to march to meet him. The opposing armies met near the fort of Volconda, and the English behaved in such a manner as English troops have seldom been guilty of—they fled almost at the first shot, leaving their Caffres and their sepoys on the field engaged in an unequal struggle, which these mercenaries maintained for some time with considerable spirit. Gingen, who was calling councils of war, and debating and wavering when he ought to have been fighting, retreated from position to position; but then changing his line of march he contrived eventually to reach Trichinopoly, and throw himself and his forces, considerably reduced, within its walls. Chunda Saheb was close at his heels, and the siege was renewed. Clive, after the disgraceful affair at Volconda, had returned straight to Fort David to storm and swear at the misconduct of officers, and to solicit employment more suited to disposition and abilities. In a lucky hour the coun promoted him to the rank of captain, and adopted a pl which his daring genius had formed, and intrusted h

with the execution of his own project. This was nothing less than to relieve Trichinopoly by making a sudden attack upon Arcot, the capital of the Carnatic. Fort St. David and Madras were emptied of their troops and left with the weakest garrisons, and yet Clive's detachment when completed did not exceed 200 Englishmen and 300 sepoys. His whole staff of officers counted no more than eight, six of whom had never been in action, and four of these six being young men in the mercantile service of the company, who, inflamed by Clive's example, took up the sword to follow him. The artillery attached to this force consisted of three light field-pieces. But Clive had learnt something while acting as commissary, and had taken good care to provide supplies of provisions and abundant ammunition. He had already the forethought of a great commander. On the 26th of August, 1751, he started from Madras with a confidence of success. On the 29th he reached a pagoda about forty miles inland, and there received intelligence that the fort of Arcot had not been drained of its troops for the siege of Trichinopoly, but was actually garrisoned by 1100 men. Nothing daunted, he wrote to Madras for two eighteen-pounders to be sent after him without delay; and continuing his march he halted on the 31st within ten miles of Arcot. The country people, or the scouts employed by the enemy, reported with consternation that they had seen the English marching without concern through a terrible storm of thunder, lightning, and rain. This was considered as a fearful omen by the native garrison, who instantly abandoned the fort. A few hours after their departure Clive and his men entered the city, which had no walls or defences, and marching through the streets in the midst of tens of thousands of timid spectators, they took possession of the fort, where they found eight pieces of cannon from four to eight pounders, a great heap of lead for shot, and abundance of gunpowder.

Clive's adventures now assumed the most romantic and marvellous character. With a mere handful of men he sallied from Arcot, and cut up or scattered all the

enemy's forces; he sent away his people to meet the two eighteen-pounders coming from Madras, and, with thirty Europeans and fifty sepoys, made good the fort of Arcot; he completely repulsed Rajah Saheb and his French allies who brought up some good artillery with them; he skilfully counterworked two breaches which the French guns had made, and he triumphed over an assault which was made on the 14th of November by many thousands of Indians. The following morning the besiegers fled from the town of Arcot, leaving artillery and ammunition behind them. Thus ended a siege which had lasted fifty days. It raised the reputation of English arms in India from the lowest to the very highest pitch.

Being reinforced by Captain Kilpatrick with 150 men, Clive, leaving a garrison in the fort, went off from Arcot on the 19th of November, with 200 English, 700 sepoys, and three field-pieces, in pursuit of Rajah Saheb. Being joined by a small body of Mahratta horse sent to him by Morari Row, he gave the enemy battle at a place called Arnee; and, though they were 300 French and more than 2000 natives, horse and foot, with four field-pieces, he completely routed them. The valour of the Mahrattas was encouraged by the booty they made, for they took 400 horses and Chunda Saheb's military chest, containing 100,000 rupees. Six hundred sepoys, who had been serving the French, immediately deserted with their arms and accoutrements, and joined Clive; and the killadar or governor of Arnee abandoned the cause of Chunda Saheb and the French, and declared for Mohammed Ali and the English. With admirable rapidity Clive next proceeded to Conjeveram, made a breach in that strong pagoda, and forced the French to fly from it by night. After destroying the defences of this place, and strengthening the garrison that he h left at Arcot, Clive returned to Fort St. David to rep his successes and to suggest bolder and wider operatio. Mohammed Ali, instead of being besieged in Trich poly, saw the country open to him and a great pa the Carnatic submissive to his will. Clive had not b

long at Fort St. David when the enemy reassembled, and with 4500 natives, horse and foot, 400 French, and a train of artillery, began to ravage the company's territory and the districts which had declared for Mohammed Ali. Early in February (1752) Clive, having been reinforced from Bengal, went out to meet them with 380 English, 1300 sepoys, and six field-pieces. Such was the terror of his name that they retreated before him, abandoning one strong position after another. Lengthening and quickening his marches, he, however, came up with them at the village of Covrepauk, defeated them after a hard-fought battle, and took nine pieces of cannon and sixty Frenchmen. Fifty Frenchmen and 300 sepoys were found dead upon the field.

Clive, the conqueror, returned to Fort St. David, where the presidency determined to despatch him to Trichinopoly. But just at this juncture Major Laurence returned from England and took the command as superior officer. Laurence, however, who was wholly devoid of professional jealousy, and who had the warmest admiration for the daring self-taught soldier, took Clive with him when he set out for Trichinopoly, with 400 English, 1100 sepoys, and eight field-pieces. As 20,000 Hindus from the kingdom of Mysore and 6000 Mahrattas were ready to co-operate with the English, the troops of Chunda Saheb and the French, who had again gathered in the neighbourhood of Trichinopoly, broke up in dismay, the French retreating to a strong pagoda in Seringham, an island formed by the rivers Coleroon and Cauvery, and burning part of their baggage and provisions which they could not transport with them. By the advice of Clive Major Laurence divided his small force, and sent a detachment across the Coleroon to intercept the enemy's supplies. Clive had the command of this detachment, and performed his duty so effectually that the French soon began to feel the horrible approaches of famine. Dupleix from Pondicherry sent M. d'Auteuil to supply and reinforce the French on the island; but d'Auteuil was driven back by some of the troops of Major Laurence, forced into an old fort, and

there compelled to surrender with all his convoy. A few days after the French at Seringham capitulated and became prisoners of war; and their ally Chunda Saheb, who had so recently been lord of the Carnatic, finding himself deserted by the last of his troops, fled to the camp of his enemies and surrendered to the general of the Tanjore forces, a wily Hindu, who had promised him protection and who now put him in irons. Forthwith a violent dispute arose between Mohammed Ali, the Mahratta chiefs, the Rajah of Mysore, and the Tanjorines, who each and all claimed the person of the prisoner. To put an end to this quarrel, Major Laurence proposed that the fallen potentate should for the present be delivered up to the English; but the disputants separated without coming to any agreement, and before the discussion could be renewed the Tanjorines cut off the head of Chunda Saheb and sent it to his new fortunate rival, Mohammed Ali, who exhibited it as a trophy to his army.

The English were now eager to advance against the fortress of Gingee, the only place in the Carnatic which remained to their enemies; but fresh and far more violent disputes broke out among their allies and retarded their departure. As the troops of Tanjore and other auxiliaries had marched to their homes, the English had few or none to advance with them to Gingee, except the sepoys in their own pay. They marched nevertheless to that strong place, which was held by a brave and well-trained French garrison, sustained a repulse, and were obliged to retreat with some loss. This gave new encouragement to Dupleix. Well acquainted with the dissensions prevailing between Mohammed Ali and the Regent of Mysore, he opened a secret correspondence with the Mysoreans and the Mahrattas, hoping to break the c federacy into pieces by force of intrigue and the vel mence of their own passions. In these labours it is s he derived wonderful assistance from his wife, who born in India and perfectly understood not only languages but also the character of the natives. In union with this lady, who is described as being e

more ambitious than himself, we may probably find the cause of the essentially Oriental spirit of most of his proceedings. In a very short time Major Lawrence was recalled to the neighbourhood of Fort St. David by intelligence that Dupleix had another considerable army on foot. With 400 English, 1700 sepoys, 4000 troops in the pay of Mohammed Ali, and nine field-pieces, he encountered this French army near Bahoor, only two miles from Fort St. David, and obtained a victory which would have been far more complete if the Nabob's troops had not thought more of plundering than fighting. Lawrence was now enabled to detach Clive to Covelong, an important fort in the Carnatic, about twenty miles south of Madras. The force which Clive took with him consisted of 200 recruits who had just been landed at Madras, and who are represented as being the very refuse of the jails of London, and of 300 newly raised sepoys. But, as Clive had become a general as if by inspiration, so had he the faculty of making soldiers in a week out of vagabonds and cutpurses. With this force and with four twenty-four-pounders, he attacked Covelong, which mounted 30 pieces of cannon, and was garrisoned by 50 French and 300 sepoys. At first the jailbirds showed some trepidation; but Clive shamed them out of their fears by exposing himself to the hottest of the fire, and by the time the fort surrendered they were heroes. The morning after the surrender of Covelong, Ensign Joseph Smith discovered a large body of troops advancing, and correctly judged that this must be a detachment from Chingliput intended to relieve Covelong. Clive instantly took every precaution to conceal from this corps that the fort had fallen; and then he laid an ambuscade in their route. The French fell into the trap; and the very first volley fired by the concealed English killed or wounded 100 men. The rest threw down their arms and fled or surrendered. The French officer commanding, 25 Europeans, and 250 sepoys, with two pieces of cannon, were taken. Clive next proceeded with all possible rapidity to Chingliput, which was about forty miles to the south-west of Covelong, the fort being completely

defended on one side by a lake, and on another by a swamp; it was, moreover, surrounded by a broad and deep ditch. Clive presently erected a battery within 200 yards of the outer wall, made a breach, and prepared to storm; but the French commandant called a parley and surrendered the place on condition of being allowed the honours of war. The French garrison evacuated Chingliput on the 31st of October (1752), and marched to Pondicherry; Clive returned to Madras, and, finding his health, which had never been very robust, greatly impaired by the incessant fatigues he had undergone, he proceeded to England by the first ship.

His back was scarcely turned when Dupleix's diplomacy and intrigue obtained the most signal triumphs. The Regent of Mysore abruptly broke his alliance and joined the French, and his example was followed by Morari Row, the chief of the Mahrattas, who considered that they had not been allowed their fair share of booty. Still further to increase this defection, Dupleix opened negotiations with the Mohammedan governor of Vellore, and he gained this chief by flattering him with the nabobship of the Carnatic. Joined by the troops of these recent allies of the English, the French advanced once more to Trichinopoly, and laid close siege to that place. Major Laurence soon discovered the defection of the Mahrattas, and he ordered an attack upon a part of their forces which yet remained within his reach. This attack was led under cover of the night by Captain Dalton, who penetrated their camp and committed some slaughter. But shortly after the Mahrattas made an attack upon an advanced post of the British, and cut to pieces 70 English and about 300 sepoys. Captain Dalton turned out of the city a large body of Mysoreans who were still pretending to be frie
Neither Mahrattas nor Mysoreans had any inclinatic
attempt the reduction of the fort by storm; but
hoped to be able to reduce it by famine. T
watched every avenue to the place as closely as
could, they kept parties of horse constantly scou
the country to intercept the supplies, they prohi

the introduction of any kind of provisions, and they cut off the noses of those whom they caught attempting to infringe their orders.

Captain Dalton made his situation known to Major Laurence, who had retired to Madras, but who immediately took the field and marched to his relief. Laurence arrived at Trichinopoly on the 6th of May (1753), but the hurried march and the heat of the weather had proved fatal to several of his English troops, who had died upon the road, and above a hundred more were sick and helpless, and only fit for the hospital. No attempt was, however, made to intercept him, or to prevent his entrance into the place. When his forces were joined to those of Captain Dalton they did not exceed 500 English and 2000 sepoys: there was indeed quartered in the town a body of Mohammed Ali's force, but these fellows were ill paid and mutinous. Provisions now found their way into the town; but Dupleix and his allies made such exertions that in a short time nearly 30,000 men, including about 500 French, were gathered round the place. Major Laurence made several sorties, and even attempted to drive the enemy from the strong pagoda of Seringham, which they had again occupied; but he failed and was compelled to retire with some loss. The French drew nearer and made an attack upon a post called the Golden Rock, which Laurence had established in order to keep open his communications with the country. The post was defended by sepoys, who gave way before the impetuous attack of M. Astruc; and the French flag was hoisted on the rock. Laurence sent his grenadiers to recover the important position, and it was soon recovered at the point of the bayonet; but, as the whole French force came up to support their comrades, a general action ensued, in which the Mysore army and the Mahratta cavalry took part. The Mahrattas occasionally made a charge and did some mischief, but the Mysoreans kept themselves at a respectful distance in the rear: the stern contest was only between the British and the French; but the British bayonet finished the day, and the French fled from the field, leaving three

field-pieces behind them. Laurence returned triumphantly to the walls of Trichinopoly; but his loss, considering the small number of his troops, was considerable, and forced him to confess that one or two more victories of the same kind would have ruined him. The Indian Rajah of Tanjore professed to remain steady to the English interest, but he sent little or no assistance to Trichinopoly. It was now resolved that Major Laurence should proceed with Mohammed Ali to the Tanjore frontier, in order to obtain from the Rajah the fulfilment of some of his promises. At the hour of departure Mohammed Ali's own troops assembled in the court of the palace, declaring that they would not allow him to depart until he had paid their arrears. English bayonets opened a path through these mutinous natives; but as soon as the nabob was gone they went over in a body to the enemy. The journey to the Tanjore frontier was, however, very successful; for the Rajah sent 3000 horse and 2000 foot under the command of Monackgee, the general who had assassinated Chunda Saheb, to co-operate with the English and the forces of Mohammed Ali. Moreover, Laurence was now joined by 170 British soldiers who had just arrived from England, and by 300 natives who enrolled as sepoys. Thus reinforced, with his carts well loaded with provisions, and with some thousands of bullocks in his train, Laurence returned towards Trichinopoly. The French made a spirited attempt to cut off his convoy and impede his entrance into the town, but they were again repelled by the bayonets of the English granadiers, and Laurence and the nabob got to their old quarters without loss or damage. The French and their allies made no progress in reducing Trichinopoly, and the English and their allies had not sufficient force to compel them to raise the blockade. Many encoun[illegible] took place, in one of which M. Astruc and several Fr[illegible] officers were taken prisoners. Months were passe[illegible] this manner in foraging and skirmishing. In the aut[illegible] a party of Laurence's troops took Weyconda, a po[illegible] some strength; and the French and their allies [illegible] retired from the vicinity of Trichinopoly, appare[illegible]

with the intention of giving up the blockade. But on the 20th of November, when Laurence was fifteen miles from the town, and when the Tanjore troops had quitted him to return to their homes, he was startled by news of an attack made by the French on Trichinopoly. Before he reached that town he was, however, gladdened by the intelligence that the few English and the sepoys within it had repulsed the French with a terrible loss.

But in the mean time M. Bussy, who took his departure for Hyderabad in 1752, to establish Salibut Jung in the sovereignty of the Deccan, had gone through a series of brilliant and romantic adventures, and penetrated farther into the country than any European army had hitherto gone, and had to all appearance consolidated the authority of his ally. Bussy had been living with all the pomp and splendour of a vizier or a sultan at Golconda, and directing all the measures of Salibut Jung's government. To expel the French and their allies, and to place upon the throne of the Deccan Ud-Dien, the prince of the Mogul's choice, every exertion was made that the reduced means of the emperor would allow; an army of Mahrattas, who were ever ready to sell their services to any party, or to embark on either side in any war that offered a prospect of abundant booty, were engaged by the Mogul, and placed with other native troops under the command of Ud-Dien. But this unfortunate claimant was carried off by poison, or by his own excesses, as he was entering the province of Golconda with 100,000 horse. Upon this event many of his host took their departure; but the Mahrattas, eager for the spoil of a rich province, continued their advance and encountered the French and the troops of Salibut Jung in several places. Bussy, who had the genius of Clive, defeated them repeatedly, and once or twice with so much slaughter that the Mahrattas became anxious for peace. Salibut Jung then purchased their retreat by ceding to them some districts near Berar and Burhanpoor; and they gladly withdrew from the murderous execution of Bussy's quick musketry and artillery. The bold Frenchman had, however, soon to experience how

slightly the ties of gratitude attached Indian princes and politicians. Disgusted at seeing Salibut Jung completely ruled by a handful of foreigners, and forgetting that those foreigners alone had gained and could defend the Deccan, the courtiers advised their master to reduce the power of the French, who did not enjoy or exercise it with much moderation. Taking advantage of the temporary absence of Bussy, Salibut Jung withheld the pay of the French troops, and then began to detach them in small parties to distant quarters. But some of the Mahratta tribes, continually on the watch, discovered this dispersion of the only force they feared, and instantly began to prepare for a new war in the Deccan. Quickened by the prayers of Salibut Jung, Bussy hurried back to his post, and was instantly allowed to remite his scattered forces and to dictate his own terms to that trembling court. The courtiers and ministers who had intrigued against him were forthwith exiled; and, as security for vast arrears already accumulated and for future pay, he obtained at the end of the year 1753, the cession of the five important provinces of Ellore, Rajamundry, Cicacole, Condapilly, and Guntoor, called the Northern Circars, which made the French masters of the sea-coast of Coromandel and Orissa for an uninterrupted line of 600 miles. But neither the court of Versailles nor the French India Company at home had embraced the grand projects of Bussy and Dupleix; the court questioned the propriety of these wars with the English in a time of peace, and the company doubted whether these territorial acquisitions could be maintained profitably to themselves. The French directors or managers were all for trade and peace, and were quite incapable of the exertions which the joint-stock English company could make with little inconvenience. Du[illegible] too had had his day, and, considering the mutation[illegible] intrigues of the old French cabinet, it had been a [illegible] one: his protectors and admirers were now out of of[illegible] his recall to France was procured, and a M. Godheu[illegible] sent out to supersede him as governor of Pondich[illegible], with instructions to negotiate immediately a peac[illegible]

the English and their allies. M. Godheu arrived at Pondicherry in the beginning of August, 1754; and with the return ship that carried away Dupleix the grand schemes of French empire and dominion in the East seemed to vanish into thin air. On the 11th of October, a suspension of arms was agreed to for three months; and on the 26th of December of the same year (1754) a provisional treaty was signed at Pondicherry. The French stipulated to withdraw their troops from the Carnatic, and to interfere no more in the affairs of the native princes there; thus leaving Mohammed Ali, the ally or creature of the English, undisputed nabob of the Carnatic. They also agreed that the territorial possessions of the French and English should be settled and defined on the principle of equality, thus virtually resigning nearly all that Bussy and Dupleix had acquired by their wars and policy.

M. Bussy, however, left undisturbed at Golconda, continued his control over the Deccan; and the Mysoreans, alleging that the French had no authority to bind them by their paper agreements, seemed disposed to continue the blockade of Trichinopoly, and remained in that neighbourhood until they were scared away by the report that a Mahratta army was marching to attack them. Their departure finished a siege and blockade which had lasted altogether more than a year, and which had brought out on the part of the English troops uncommon bravery, steadiness, and no inconsiderable skill. Yet the pacification was scarcely settled when the two rival European nations were involved in fresh differences: the French complained that the English continued to keep their troops with Mohammed Ali to assist him in collecting his revenues and reducing his refractory subjects; and the English justified their conduct by showing that M. Bussy and the French troops with him in the interior continued to render the same services, and on a more extensive scale, to Salibut Jung. It soon became evident that no peace or truce could be of long duration. As there was no work to employ an English squadron which had arrived under the command of Admiral Watson, it was resolved to send some of the ships to destroy

the nests of some powerful pirates who for fifty years had been committing depredations on the Malabar coast. The chiefs of these corsairs were a family of the Mahratta race, and bore the name of Angria, who had established on the coast a power closely resembling that of the Algerines, and who nominally acknowledged the Peishwa, or the supreme head of the Mahrattas, as the Algerines nominally professed allegiance to the Ottoman Porte. But the Angrias had recently given such offence to the Peishwa that he determined upon their destruction, and consented to join his fleet to the English squadron. In 1755 the English ships under the command of Commodore James drove the pirates from two of their strongholds and took possession of them, the Mahratta fleet of the Peishwa never coming within reach of cannon-shot till the fighting was over. But the chief nest of the pirates—the fort and port of Gheriah—was not destroyed until the following year, when the adventurous Clive had returned from England with improved health and enlarged hopes.

Preceded by glowing reports of his remarkable achievements at Arcot and in other parts of the Carnatic, Clive had been received in England with enthusiasm. Young as he was, he was hailed as the best of living English generals. The company resolved in sending him back to appoint him governor of Fort St. David, with a provisional commission to succeed to the government of Madras. George II., who loved a soldier, gave him the commission of lieutenant-colonel in the British army, which it was hoped would obviate the quarrels about rank which so frequently occurred between the king's and the company's officers. After the reduction of the pirates' nest at Gheriah, Colonel Clive proceeded to Fort St. David, and assumed the government of th place on the 20th of June, 1756, the very day on whi the nabob of Bengal took Calcutta from the Englis and disgraced his success with detestable cruelties.

The company's settlement at Calcutta had ris rapidly under the pacific rule of Aliverdy Khan, t Mussulman viceroy of the Great Mogul, but who b ecome virtually the independent and absolute sovere

of all the rich kingdom or territory of Bengal—the richest country in all India, with the most pusillanimous Hindu population. Aliverdy was, for India, a prince of rare virtues: while his neighbours and brother potentates consumed their time and their strength in multitudinous harems, and, in defiance of the Koran, stupified their intellects with excessive drinking, he adhered most scrupulously to the law of the prophet, which prohibits the use of wine and strong drinks; and he neglected at the same time to avail himself of the prophet's licence for indulging in a plurality of wives and an *ad libitum* number of concubines. To the amazement of Hindus and Mohammedans, Aliverdy rested satisfied with one faithful and beloved wife. He was orderly, prudent, just, and averse to all violence; he encouraged the trade of the English settled in his dominions, and derived a fair and growing profit from their prosperity. Their factors and their various agents travelled without interruption through every part of his dominions, finding everywhere protection for their property and safety and respect for their persons.

But Aliverdy Khan died early in the month of April of this year, 1756, and his grandson and successor, Suraj-u-Dowlah, a cruel, luxurious, and effeminate youth, proved altogether unworthy of him. As in these Oriental despotisms nearly everything depends upon the personal character of the ruler, it was evident, from the first day of Suraj-u-Dowlah's accession, that everything in Bengal would undergo a rapid and thorough change. He was known to entertain very hostile feelings towards the English, so that everybody at Calcutta ought to have been prepared for his hostile attacks; and the stories related of his violence and cruelty—of his delighting in seeing torture inflicted under his own eye—might have warned them of the fate that awaited them if they ever fell into his power. He had seen the coffers of his grandfather filled directly or indirectly by the trade of the English; he had been led to believe that the wealth and treasures these foreign merchants had accumulated within the walls of Calcutta were enormous in extent,

and always ready and tangible; and, like the fool in the fable, he resolved to kill the goose that laid these golden eggs. It was very easy to find pretexts for quarrel. Alarmed by reports from England that a new war with France was inevitable, and would be prosecuted in all parts of the world, the English had begun to fortify Calcutta, so as to prevent any attack by the French on the side of the river. Moreover, they had granted refuge in their fort to a very wealthy Hindu native called Kissendass, whom Suraj-u-Dowlah wished to plunder, and they had refused to give him up to his officers. Other facilities were afforded by a Hindu merchant, called Omichund, a man of intrigue and of enormous wealth, which he was constantly seeking to increase without any scruples as to the means he employed. Omichund had lived long in Calcutta, and had been permitted to engross much more of the company's investment than was allowed to any other contractor. The presidency, moreover, had almost constantly employed him to transact their political business with the nabob and the minor potentates in the neighbourhood, and had paid him lavishly for all these services. The influence this intriguing Hindu had acquired was immense, and his power was altogether so great that it was dangerous to offend him. Yet the presidency, disgusted by some dishonest practices, had deprived him of all his contracts, and given him the most mortal offence. Omichund retired to Muxadabad, or Moorshedabad, with 4,000,000 of rupees; but he left his harem and a considerable part of his household property at Calcutta. It was believed that the vindictive Hindu put himself in close communication with the French at Chandernagore, and advised Suraj-u-Dowlah to annihilate the English settlement. After a short stay at Moorshedabad, Omichund returned to C cutta to facilitate the scheme of destruction he rec mended, and to act as a spy for the nabob. Sura Dowlah despatched a peremptory letter to Mr. Dr the governor, ordering him instantly to destroy all works which had been added to the fortifications Calcutta.

A few days after he collected his whole army at Moorshedabad, and sent a detachment of 3000 men to invest the small English fort and factory at Cossimbuzar. This investment was begun on the 22nd of May, but no hostilities were committed until the 1st of June, when the nabob arrived with the rest of his forces. The fort of Cossimbuzar had neither ditch nor palisade; its walls were contemptibly weak, the largest of its guns were but nine-pounders, and those were honeycombed or shaking upon rotten carriages: the garrison consisted of twenty-two Europeans and twenty Topasses, and of the Europeans the majority were Dutchmen. The nabob summoned Mr. Watts to come forth to him. Mr. Watts waited upon the savage in his tent, and was again threatened with impalement. He was compelled to sign a paper importing that the presidency of Calcutta should level whatever works they had raised; that they should instantly deliver up all subjects or tenants of the nabob who had taken protection in their settlement, etc. Mr. Watts was next required to sign an order for the surrender of Cossimbuzar: but this he refused to do. But that fort was utterly incapable of resisting a vast army; and on the 4th of June the crumbling old gates were thrown open to the nabob. His conduct was so brutal, that to escape from it the English commanding officer, Ensign Elliot, put a pistol to his head and blew out his brains. On the 9th of June Suraj-u-Dowlah struck his tents and began his march upon Calcutta. In the meantime the terrified and stupified presidency at Calcutta lost days and nights in doubts and deliberations: vainly hoping to avert the storm, they engaged to obey the nabob's orders, and to demolish whatever he might require, if he would only withdraw his army; and they never seriously applied themselves to the defence of the place until Suraj-u-Dowlah was within a few days' march with a still increasing army. They then implored the Dutch at Chinchura and the French at Chandernagore, for the sake of humanity and for the common cause of Europeans in India, to afford them some assistance against the nabob, who, if allowed to exterminate the

English, would not long respect the weaker settlements of the other European nations. The Dutch coldly and positively refused any aid or succour, and the French insulted their distress by advising the English to repair with their goods and chattels to Chandernagore. Letters had been despatched to Madras and to Bombay, requesting reinforcements, but the sea was shut by the south monsoon. Nothing therefore was left to do but to defend Calcutta with the force actually within it. This consisted of 264 regulars, 250 militia raised among the inhabitants, and 1500 native Indian matchlock men. The genius of a Clive might, even with this defective force, have made good the fort against the disorderly, unwarlike host advancing against it; but there was no Clive in Calcutta, and too many of the English there whose voices were most potential were cursed with the selfish minds and narrow views of pedlars and trucksters. When all was at stake these men wanted to preserve their own dwelling-houses, their magazines, their gardens, and their outhouses from injury; and buildings which ought to have been blown into the air, because they commanded the ramparts of the fort, or covered the approaches, were left standing till Suraj-u-Dowlah should avail himself of them. On the 15th of June Suraj-u-Dowlah reached Hooghly, about twenty miles above Calcutta, and prepared to cross the river in an immense fleet of boats. What the English ships were doing we know not; but it should appear that the fire of two brigantines alone ought to have sunk and scattered these frail embarkations, and have effectually defended the passage of the river. On the morning of the 16th the nabob with nearly his whole force was on the Calcutta side of the river; the Indian inhabitants of the town were flying in all directions with their rice on t[illegible] heads; and the Englishwomen, the Armenians, the [illegible]tuguese, and all who claimed to be Christians, [illegible] abandoning their houses in the city to take refuge wi[illegible] the fort, which was crowded and embarrassed in ev[illegible] part by women and children, and men as helpless o[illegible] timid. At the hour of noon the van of the nabob's [illegible]

advancing from the northward was seen close on the company's bounds, and shortly after a firing commenced across the Mahratta ditch.

The defence of the fort was conducted without intelligence, and, save in a few cases, with very little spirit. Drake, the governor, embarked with the European ladies in ships on the river; others ran away from their posts at the moment of crisis, and all would have fled if they had been able. Mr. Holwell, a member of council, was elected to the command of the hopeless place, which was now garrisoned by only 190 men, between regulars and timid militia.

By the direction of Mr. Holwell, signals were constantly thrown out, flags by day and fires by night, to call the shipping at Govindpoor back to the fort; but no attention whatever was paid to these strong appeals to valour and generosity; the ships remained where they were, and merely sent a native boat down the river from time to time to see what was passing. Nothing but imbecility on the part of the commanders can account for this conduct in British seamen. On the following morning the assailants crowded round the fort in still greater numbers. Some of the English who had seen how easy it was to scatter thousands with the well-directed fire of a single gun recommended steadiness and perseverance in the defence; but others recommended with equal earnestness an immediate capitulation, without reflecting that Suraj-u-Dowlah was the last man upon earth likely to observe any treaty, or to put any bounds to his wrath. Mr. Holwell at last consented to make his prisoner Omichund write a letter to one of the nabob's generals, stating that the English were ready to obey the nabob's commands, and were only defending the fort to preserve their lives and honour. This letter was carried into the Indian general's quarters, but it seemed to produce no effect, as the attack was continued and preparation made to escalade the walls. Advancing under cover of a strong fire from one of the neighbouring houses, a large party actually began to escalade the northern curtain of the fortress; but, after persevering for half an hour, they were hurled back and totally

repulsed with great loss. But in this stern contest twenty-five of the garrison had been killed or desperately wounded, and more than twice that number had received slighter wounds. In this state, when the place was filled with moans and groans and shrieks of anguish, some of the remaining English soldiery broke open the arrack store-house, swallowed that ardent spirit as if it had been water, and became mad or stupid. About two o'clock in the afternoon, after a very faint renewal of the attack, the Indians sent a flag of truce towards the fort; but while Mr. Holwell was parleying with the messenger, and the garrison suspending their fire, hosts of the nabob's people flocked to the gates of the fort, to the palisades, and to the weakest parts of the works, where they applied their scaling-ladders and began again to ascend, firing at every one they saw. A gentleman was wounded at the side of Mr. Holwell, who thereupon broke off the conference and endeavoured to collect his men on the ramparts. But the men who were sober could not be brought up in time, and those who were mad drunk were breaking open the water-gate to escape by the river. As this gate was forced, a mass of Indians who had climbed over the palisade beyond it, and were lurking under the walls, rushed in. About twenty of the garrison threw themselves over the walls; all the rest piled their arms and surrendered with prayers for mercy. At five in the afternoon Suraj-u-Dowlah, who had kept at a distance so long as there was any resistance or the slightest chance of danger, entered the fort in triumph, accompanied by Meer Jaffier, his treasurer and commander-in-chief, and by most of his principal officers. He seated himself with all his pomp in the principal hall of the factory, and ordered Mr. Holwell to be brought before him. He abused the English with Oriental richness of language their presumption in daring to oppose his will and defi the fort, and he bitterly complained of the small sum money he had found in their treasury—a sum whicl reality fell below 50,000 rupees, while his ravenous i gination had anticipated many millions. He dismis Mr. Holwell, recalled him to ask if there was no r

money, and then dismissed him again. Before seven o'clock he summoned the Englishman to his presence once more, and this time, in dismissing him, pledged his word as a soldier that he should suffer no harm.* Mr. Holwell returned to his companions in misfortune, whom he found surrounded by a strong guard and gazing upon a terrible conflagration which by accident or by design had been kindled in the houses outside the fort. Asking where they were to be lodged for the night, they were ordered to march to a veranda or open gallery near the eastern gate of the fort. But about eight o'clock at night the principal officer who had charge of them commanded them all to go into a room behind the gallery. This room was the common dungeon of the garrison, and called the Black Hole. Many of the prisoners, knowing the narrowness of the place, imagined at first that the officer was joking, and, being in good spirits on account of the nabob's promise that no harm should be offered to them, they laughed at the absurdity of the notion; but when they perceived in the savage looks of the Indians that they were in earnest they began to expostulate and implore; upon which the officer ordered his men to cut down those who hesitated, and the captives were driven into the cell at the point of the sword. The space was so thronged that the last could hardly find room to enter. The savages without then locked the door upon them; confining 146 persons in a room not twenty feet square, with only two small windows, and those obstructed and deprived of air by the projecting veranda. It was the very hottest season of the year, and the night unusually sultry even for that season; for the atmosphere was heated by the burning houses and charged with the smoke that proceeded from the conflagration. As soon as the dismal door was closed upon them the prisoners, crowded and wedged together in one living, desperate mass, began to feel all the unutterable horrors of their situation. They cried, they shrieked for mercy — they prayed to be removed to

* Holwell's Tracts.

separate rooms, to any place but that—they attempted to burst open the door, but the door was strong and opened inward, and no impression could be made upon it or its fastenings. Mr. Holwell, having been one of the first to enter that infernal hole, had secured himself a place near one of the windows, and through the grating he addressed an old Hindu, "who bore some marks of humanity in his countenance," and promised him 1000 rupees in the morning if he would separate the captives into two chambers. The old man said he would go and endeavour to obtain permission; but he soon returned, saying that the thing could not be done—that it was impossible. Mr. Holwell offered him a larger sum—the old man went again—and again he soon returned, pronouncing, this time, the inevitable doom—for the nabob, he said, had retired to rest and was fast asleep, and no man dared to wake or disturb him. Then the captives went raving mad with despair and a hell-like heat and thirst; they shrieked for water! water! and they fought with each other with maniac hands, feet, and teeth, for possession of the ground nearest the windows. The old Hindu, at the prayer of Mr. Holwell, brought some skins of water to the grating, but the sufferers were too far gone in madness to wait their turn to drink; they battled with one another like demons for the first draught, and they spilt and wasted more than was drunk. But the contents of the largest and coolest water-tank in Hindustan could not have quenched the inward fire that consumed them, or have cooled or sweetened the infernal air of their dungeon. They went madder and madder. To shorten their horrors and to provoke the Indians outside in the veranda to fire upon them, they made use of every kind of invective and abuse; but the blacks kept up their torture, and, staring through the windows, shouted with laugl at the frantic tricks of the white men. By this ti many of the captives had been squeezed or trodder death, or had died for want of air. At two o'cloc the morning not more than fifty remained alive; but e this reduced number could not long live in that close poisoned air, which was rendered every moment r

loathsome by the almost instantaneous decomposition of the dead bodies. As the light of day glimmered through the narrow apertures the sight was too horrible to be borne; but the sun was allowed to rise high in the heavens before the tyrant quitted his soft and perfumed couch and inquired after his prisoners. At eight o'clock in the morning, after ascertaining that Mr. Holwell, whom he wished to question about money, was among the survivors, he sent an order to enlarge the captives. The narrow space was so blocked up with the dead lying one upon the other, and those who yet lived were so weak and faint, that it was with the greatest difficulty the door was opened and a passage made for egress. At length, however, twenty-three ghastly figures were brought out of that truly black hole—figures that would not have been recognised by the mothers that had borne them, or by the bosom friends that had seen them but a few hours before on the eve of their terrific incarceration. The dead, amounting to 123, were then dragged out and thrown promiscuously into a great pit outside the fort, and there covered in with earth and rubbish. Mr. Holwell, unable to stand, was carried to the presence of Suraj-u-Dowlah, who, so far from showing any compassion for his pitiable condition, or any remorse for the dreadful death of his companions, talked of nothing but the treasures which, he said, the English had buried; and he threatened further severities if the concealed money were not instantly delivered up. Mr. Holwell, who knew of no hidden treasures, was consigned over to some officers of the nabob, who put his sinking and emaciated frame into irons and fetters. Messrs. Court and Walcot underwent the same treatment, as they were suspected of knowing something of the hidden treasures which haunted the young tyrant's imagination, and which only existed there. An Englishwoman, the only one of her sex among the sufferers, was reserved for the harem of the Buckshee, or chief general, Meer Jaffier, who sent her off in a palanquin to his palace at Moorshedabad. Little or no attention was paid to the obscurer part of the survivors, who were allowed to quit the fort and descend

the bank of the river towards Govindpoor, where the English shipping still lay at anchor.

Meanwhile the nabob's army were plundering all the warehouses and dwelling-houses in the town of Calcutta, making no distinction as to persons, faiths, or nations; but robbing alike Hindus, Mohammedans, Armenians, Portuguese, and English. Their booty in merchandise and in household property was very considerable; but, like their nabob, they too had visions of hidden treasures, to realize which they in many instances tortured or barbarously maltreated their victims. On the 2nd of July, the nabob proceeded up the river to fall upon his neighbour and near kinsman, the ruler of Purneah. His departure from Calcutta was made in triumphal style. He left behind him in Fort William and in the town of Calcutta about 3000 men. As he passed by the French settlement at Chandernagore, and the Dutch settlement at Chinchura, which places lie close together on the right bank of the Hooghly, about thirty miles above Calcutta, he demanded tributes, and spoke at one moment as if he intended to complete his glorious career of victory by expelling both French and Dutch as he had expelled the English. The money demanded from the settlement at Chinchura, and promptly paid by the terrified Dutchmen, amounted to 450,000 rupees; but the French at Chandernagore he let off for 350,000 rupees, in consideration, it is said, of their having furnished him with 200 chests of gunpowder when he was advancing against the English at Calcutta. On the 11th of July he arrived of Moorshedabad.

The rainy season, which began before the nabob left Calcutta, and other circumstances, delayed the expedition into Purneah till the month of October. The nabob then marched with a large army, which was in re[illegible] commanded by Meer Jaffier, who gained a comp[illegible] victory over the rash young ruler of that country. [illegible] prince, the relative of Suraj-u-Dowlah, was slain i[illegible] battle; the whole of Purneah then submitted to the [illegible] queror, who once more returned triumphantly to M[illegible] shedabad, swollen with pride and elated by the c[illegible]

tion that nothing could resist him, and that the scattered and humbled English would never venture to renew hostilities in his dominions. But these dreams were soon to be dissipated; for Clive, the avenger, Clive "the Daring in War," was now preparing to come against him.* At Madras and Bombay, at every place in India in which there was an Englishman, exertions were made in order to recover Calcutta and take vengeance for the cruelties which had been committed; but the mighty monsoons would not yield nor change to suit the impatience of man; materials had to be collected from various parts of the coast, and ships to be waited for that were crossing the Indian Ocean from Europe. Thus it was not till the 16th of October that Clive and Admiral Watson could sail from Madras for the Hooghly. The force consisted of five of his majesty's ships and five of the company's, having on board 900 European infantry and 1500 sepoys. Five hundred more sepoys were expected from Bombay. Although 250 of his small European force, 430 of his sepoys, and almost all his artillery and military stores were on board some missing ships, Clive resolved to advance immediately towards Calcutta, and to capture on his way the fort of Budge-Budge, a place on the left bank of the river. Monichund, who commanded for the nabob, came out from Calcutta, with 3000 horse and foot. Clive defeated him in a trice, and thereupon he ran away to Moorshedabad, to assure his master that "the Daring in War" was irresistible. The garrisons Monichund had left in Budge-Budge and in Fort William soon scampered after him, and Clive took undisturbed possession of Calcutta. Early in January (1757) Hooghly, where Suraj-u-Dowlah had stationed a considerable army, was reduced by a detachment under Major Eyre Coote, who returned to Calcutta with an enormous booty. The nabob now resolved to move with his entire army upon Calcutta. Clive prepared a fortified camp outside that city,

* The name of "Sabut Jung," or "The Daring in War," was given to Clive by the natives, and was applied to him by Suraj-u-Dowlah himself.

and quietly waited his arrival. On the 3rd of February the near approach of the barbarian was announced by burning villages to which he had set fire. On the morrow he was defeated and a fearful vengeance was taken upon his troops for the atrocities of the Black Hole. He then retreated towards Moorshedabad and implored for peace with the English. A treaty, most advantageous to the company, was concluded on the 9th of February. But no sooner had the faithless nabob returned to his capital than he opened a fresh correspondence with the French at Chandernagore, and even sent emissaries to Golconda to invite M. Bussy into Bengal. These secrets were revealed to Clive (most probably by Omichund), who thereupon resolved to drive those dangerous neighbours, the French, out of Chandernagore. That strong and well-prepared place was attacked by ships and troops on the 14th of March; nearly all its guns were silenced by the 24th; and on the 25th the garrison surrendered. Though still professing friendship to Clive, and confidently believing that his secret correspondence with the French was unknown, Suraj-u-Dowlah, sent an elephant and jewels to meet Bussy, and kept in his pay Monsieur Law, whose European force had been raised to above a hundred French, through broken paroles and flights from the English camp. No doubt was entertained that Bussy's junction with the nabob would be fatal to the English interest. But Clive anticipated events; and he was favoured by a combination of circumstances. The nabob was detested by most of his subjects; some of the greatest of his ministers and officers, who had long been conspiring against him, began a correspondence with the English commander, by means of Omichund; and Meer Jaffier Khan, who commanded a part of the nabob's cavalry, agreed to desert his master at the hour of n
With these encouragements Clive marched up the co
try; and, on the 23rd of June, a year and three d
after the Black Hole tragedy, he fought and won
remarkable battle of Plassey. Meer Jaffier Khan l
aloof, and did not join him until he had seen that he
victorious without his assistance. Clive had only

Europeans, 2000 sepoys, and 8 field-pieces: Suraj-u-Dowlah had 40,000 foot, 16,000 horse, and 50 heavy cannon, besides some field-pieces which were managed by the French;—his cavalry was far superior to any that the English had yet seen in Bengal, both men and horses being from the hardier clime of Upper India. When the last of the gallant little band of Frenchmen, abandoned by the natives, fled from their position and left their guns behind them, the affair was settled. There was no more fighting; the nabob's tens of thousands were flying towards Moorshedabad; the whole camp, with tents, baggage, artillery, and oxen, was left in the undisputed possession of the English, whose booty, upon that spot alone, was of immense value. Suraj-u-Dowlah was the foremost in the flight.

The English pursued the fugitives for about six miles and then halted for the night at Daudpoor, where Clive received a congratulatory letter from Meer Jaffier, who came and encamped in his neighbourhood that night. At midnight the fallen nabob arrived at his palace in Moorshedabad, and assembled all the officers that had escaped with him to deliberate what next was to be done, or what means were most proper to save him from the wrath of his enemies. Some were of opinion that he ought to deliver himself up to the English and trust to the magnanimity of "The Daring in War;" and some proposed that he should dispense his treasures with a liberal hand to his officers and troops, collect all of the army that he could, place himself at the head of it, and try once more the fortune of war. He agreed, or at least seemed to agree, with these bolder advisers; but, dismissing the council and retiring to the apartments of his women, his fears overcame him, and he made up his mind to fly from his capital. The circumstances of his flight were essentially Oriental, resembling scores of other stories told of dethroned Eastern princes, Indians, Persians, Saracens, or Turks. He took with him, grasped in his own hand, or hid under his own vest, a rich casket of jewels; and his chosen companions were his favourite concubine and his confidential eunuch: with no other attendants than these, and disguised in a mean dress, he

descended in the darkness of night from a window of the palace, threw himself into a boat, and ascended the river towards Patna.

On the morning of the 24th of June, the day after the battle, Meer Jaffier waited upon Clive at Daudpoor to claim the musnud. Conscious how strange his conduct at Plassey must have appeared to the English he was not without his fears and trepidations, and, when Clive's troops drew out to receive him with military honours, he fancied they intended to kill him or make him their prisoner. He started back in a cold agony; but Clive, hastily advancing to receive him, and embracing him, hailed him as Nabob of Bengal, Orissa, and Bahar. His fears were then sufficiently removed to allow of an hour's consultation with the English nabob-maker, who accepted the excuses he offered, and advised him to push forward to Moorshedabad with all his horse, in order to secure the palace and the treasury of Suraj-u-Dowlah. Jaffier and his cavalry reached the capital that evening, and the English made another advance of six miles. The treasury was secured; and some elephants loaded with gold, dresses, furniture, and women, which Suraj-u-Dowlah had sent away previously to his own flight, were overtaken and brought back to the palace. Hopes were also entertained of capturing the flying nabob himself, as troops of horse were sent in pursuit in various directions. On the 25th Clive arrived at Mandipoor, and sent Messrs. Watts and Walsh, with an escort of sepoys, to pay a congratulatory visit to Meer Jaffier, and to look after the English share of the treasure. Watts, who was at home in Moorshedabad, where he knew all classes and conditions of men, was secretly assured that the Mohammedan and Hindu conspirators were resolved to withhold the treasure from their English allies; and that Roydullub, Me the son of Jaffier, and Cuddum Hussein Khan, an of of distinction, were in a new plot to assassinate C Whether true or false, Mr. Watts thought fit to bel this information, and Clive thought it prudent to p pone his entry into Moorshedabad until the 29th; when he entered he was surrounded by 200 English 300 faithful sepoys. Moreover, he took up his qu

in a strong palace, spacious enough to accommodate his 500 men. In a short time young Meeran waited upon him with all the flattery and adulation of the East; and Clive—we presume with a good escort—accompanied Meeran to pay a visit to his father. Meer Jaffier was found installed in the royal palace, in the splendid hall where Suraj-u-Dowlah had been wont to give audience. The musnud, or throne, was at the top of that hall, and Clive, perceiving that Jaffier kept at a distance from the regal seat, took him by the hand, led him up the hall, and seated him upon the musnud. That ancient maker and unmaker of kings, the gaunt Earl of Warwick, never displayed more might, dignity, and decision. When Jaffier was thus put in his pride of place, Clive completed the Eastern ceremony by presenting to him, on a golden platter, a heap of gold rupees, and then all present prostrated themselves before Jaffier as their lawful sovereign. The next morning the new nabob paid a visit to the English commander and entered upon the delicate subject of the division of the spoils. Clive obtained an enormous sum in coin, plate, and jewels, and the promise of a sum equally large to be paid in three annual instalments. Two days after this conference the fugitive Suraj-u-Dowlah was taken at Rajahmahal, on the information of a poor dervish, whose ears he had cut off about a year before: he was brought back to Moorshedabad, and there, in a vile dungeon, he was murdered at night by Meeran, the son of Meer Jaffier.

M. Law, on receiving Suraj-u-Dowlah's last summons, had commenced his march back to Moorshedabad; but, upon receiving intelligence of the battle of Plassey, he stopped short when within twenty miles of the place where the fugitive nabob was taken. If the Frenchman had continued his march for a single day he might have met and saved the nabob. Law soon got the news of the capture and death of the wretched man, upon which he retreated with all speed into Bahar, intending to offer his services to Ramnarrain, the vice-nabob of the province, and a Hindu. This movement excited alarm in the new government at Moorshedabad, and Clive readily agreed to send troops in pursuit of the dangerous French-

man, Meer Jaffier being afraid to trust his own army. Coote was appointed to the command of this flying column, which consisted of 230 Europeans, 300 sepoys, 50 Lascars, and 2 field-pieces. The baggage, stores, carriages, ammunition, and provisions were to be conveyed up the river in boats; but there was so much difficulty and delay, that the column could not begin its march till the 6th of July, when Law had got half way to Patna. The intrepid and indefatigable Coote, who was worthy of serving under Clive, led his small column into districts and through wide provinces which had never yet heard the ring of the English musket; but, although his progress was wonderfully rapid, considering the climate and the difficulties he had to encounter, he could not overtake the nimble Frenchman, who threw himself into Oude. Further pursuit was utterly hopeless, nor was it considered prudent to cross the frontier of the powerful ruler of Oude with so small a force. Exhausted by fatigue and deprived of many of their materials of war by the sinking of some of the boats, Coote and his people returned. But the route had been traced to new connexions and conquests, and it was pretty clearly demonstrated that the British flag would, ere long, be planted at Patna, Allahabad, and Benares.

On the 16th of August, Admiral Watson, who had very materially contributed to the success of the war in Bengal, died of a jungle fever.

For some time, while Clive was changing nabobs and rooting out the French in Bengal, his countrymen on the Coromandel coast endeavoured to preserve a truce with the French at Pondicherry. The presidency of Madras, which had despatched most of the troops and ships to co-operate on the Hooghly, instructed Captain Calliaud, who remained with Mohammed Ali in Tri- nopoly, not to engage in any warlike operations. it when they received intelligence of some of the succe s obtained in Bengal, and perceived that the Frenc n the Carnatic were receiving no reinforcement, y resolved to make an attempt upon Madura. Call l made an unsuccessful attack on the place, and be e he could repeat the assault he was recalled to T-

nopoly by information that the French were showing themselves in that neighbourhood: this was on the 21st of May (1757). He instantly made up his mind to leave tents, baggage, and artillery behind him, and to fly to the relief of Trichinopoly, which was garrisoned by 150 European infantry, 15 artillerymen, 700 sepoys, 600 men furnished by a Hindu chief of Tanjore, and about 400 worthless fellows belonging to Mohammed Ali. There were no fewer than 500 French prisoners within the walls, who had found means to maintain a correspondence with their countrymen outside, and who were prepared to rise upon the garrison. The besieging army, which had commenced operations several days before Captain Calliaud received the letter at Madura, consisted of 1000 Europeans, infantry and artillery, 150 European cavalry, and 3000 sepoys, supported by several field-pieces, all under the command of M. d'Auteuil. D'Auteuil threw shot and shell into the town during four successive days. It was expected that he would attempt a storm, but he remained quiet behind his batteries; and a day or two after, Calliaud, with admirable rapidity and skill, reached the vicinity, completely deceived the French, got between the besiegers and the besieged, and finally entered Trichinopoly in triumph. D'Auteuil raised the siege the same day and retreated to Pondicherry. After his retreat the war again languished in the Carnatic until the French, by an unexpected movement, took the important English factory of Vizagapatam. While the presidency of Madras were demanding money from Mohammed Ali by letters and messengers, Bajee Row's Mahrattas burst into the country to exact at the sword's point tribute or black mail from the same poor potentate. The nabob bought them off for the present with 200,000 rupees; but this made him so much the less able to pay his debts to the English, whose treasury was almost empty. But worse followed; for Mohammed Ali, besides the 200,000 rupees in hand, had promised the Mahrattas 250,000 more *in futuro;* and he pretended that the English should furnish this sum out of the rents of the lands he

had assigned to them for their services in establishing his authority. This demand was at first met by the presidency with anger, and a resolution to resist it. Morari Row, and the chiefs of some of the other Mahratta tribes, offered to assist the English; but their services would have cost as much as the sum in dispute, and their return into the country would have been a fresh scourge, and a new cause of impoverishment. The English, says Orme, "had no alternative but to pay or fight." For fighting they had not men enough, and for paying they had not money enough; but the credit of the company was known even in the camps of the wild Mahrattas, and when the English consented to pay they agreed to take part of the amount in coin and part in bills.

In the month of September a hostile squadron of twelve ships appeared off Fort St. David. This French force was commanded by M. Bouvet, who enjoyed the reputation of being one of the best naval officers of France; and it had on board 20 pieces of battering cannon, some mortars, and a great number of bombs and balls, the regiment of Lorraine, nearly 1000 strong, 50 artillerymen, and 60 volunteers; the troops being under the command of the Marquis de Soupires. The English from Fort St. David saw these ships repair to Pondicherry and there land the troops; this was on the 9th of September; and a day or two after the whole fleet disappeared. Bouvet apprehended that the junction of Watson with some English ships already on the coast would form a force superior to his own, and he determined to fly while there was yet time; but in so great a hurry was he, that he would not even wait to land the heavy artillery and the ammunition which he had brought, for the landing must have occupied some time, and then the taking in of ballast would have occupied more. Crowding all his canvass he bore away for the Mauritius or Bourbon—flying from Watson, who had been nearly a month in his winding-sheet, and whose fleet, under the command of Rear-Admiral Pococke, was still in the Hooghly. On the very day on which Bouvet took

his departure, Captain Calliaud took Madura by making a fresh expedition from Trichinopoly, and by carrying a military chest, well filled, with him. On the other side, however, the French, reinforced as they had been, were not inactive, or without triumphs and successes. Their dread of the arrival of Watson's fleet deterred them from attacking Fort St. David; and, as the Marquis de Soupires's orders forbade his engaging in any distant expedition, they could not try their fortunes again at Trichinopoly: they therefore confined their operations to the country between Pondicherry and the Paliar, where they took Chitteput, and two or three other inferior forts garrisoned by natives.

As soon as war had been declared in Europe the government of Louis XV. had commenced preparations for a formidable expedition to the East. It was not, however, until the 28th of April, 1758, that a squadron of twelve ships reached that coast. These ships were commanded by Count d'Aché, and they had on board a regiment of infantry nearly 1100 strong, a corps of artillerymen, and a number of officers of distinction, all under the command of Count Lally, a veteran officer of Irish extraction, who had been all his life in the service of France, and who had fought against the English at Fontenoy. So high did Lally stand at this time, that he had been appointed governor-general, with the most extraordinary powers, over all the French possessions and establishments in India. The court of Versailles confidently anticipated that this new force, being added to the troops under the Marquis de Soupires, would be sufficient to clear the whole Coromandel coast of the English. Lally was to commence operations by the reduction of Fort St. David. He dropped into Pondicherry with two of the ships, and d'Aché repaired at once to Fort St. David, where two English frigates, the only ships on the station, were run ashore and wrecked to prevent their being captured. But, on the very next day, Admiral Pococke, who had brought Watson's squadron round to Ceylon, stood into the road and brought d'Aché to action. The English squadron was

inferior in number; some of the ships were scarcely fit for service. Nevertheless Pococke inflicted a very severe blow on the French, who lost 500 men in killed and wounded, and one ship. Pococke's ships, however, had suffered greatly in their spars and rigging; and, in the various manœuvres which followed the battle, they drifted to leeward. Before the sea-fight began, some of the French troops from Pondicherry, hurried on by the impetuous Lally, without baggage, or even provisions, got to the rear of Fort St. David and drove in some English outposts. On the following day, the 30th of April, the Marquis de Soupires joined them with more troops, some heavy cannon, found in Pondicherry, and a convoy of provisions.

On the 1st of May Lally arrived in person, and the siege of Fort St. David was commenced. That place was defended by a garrison of 619 Europeans, 1600 natives, sepoys, lascars, and Topasses; but Major Polier, who held the command, was wretchedly deficient both in military judgment and in spirit. Admiral Pococke was kept at a distance by contrary winds; and on the 2nd of June the fort surrendered. Lally next obtained possession of Devi-Cottah, a weak garrison of 30 English and 600 sepoys abandoning that place at the approach of the French. After these successes Lally returned to Pondicherry in triumph, and celebrated a *Te Deum*. But he had scarcely done praising the Lord ere he began quarrelling with the gentlemen of the council, on account of the emptiness of the treasury, which seriously impeded his future operations. He thus early prepared in India a strife and a hatred which, in the end, brought him to a lamentable death; and he continued to accuse powerful and resentful men of having appropriated the public money to their own use. By the strength of their credit, or the reliance on their good commercial faith, the English had often been enabled to raise money among the native bankers; but it was not so with the French, nor did Lally pursue a line of conduct proper to create credit. He made an incursion into Tanjore. The march was long, and the disposition of the country-people

everywhere unfavourable, for the treatment he had given the natives during the siege of Fort St. David had revolted their prejudices. No bullock-men or market people would follow him except by compulsion, and every act of compulsion tended to spread and increase the ill-will against him. His want of money and almost total want of provisions, even at the beginning of the march, induced him to rob and plunder; and the French soldiery, when once they got accustomed to these operations, considered everything as their own that they could seize or extort at the point of the sword. A regiment of hussars was constantly employed in cattle-lifting, and the unfortunate natives saw their cows and their oxen driven into the French camp, where no price was ever paid, or even promised. The effect of this, however, was slight and trivial, compared to the excitement produced by the outrages the French offered to the women and to the Brahmins. All who had money fled at Lally's approach, and carried their property with them. He could do nothing but plunder the poor, and destroy houses and pagodas. This Hiberno-Frenchman was very cruel. At Kivalore he put six Brahmins to death by blowing them off from the mouths of his field-pieces. On the 18th of July he halted near to the walls of the city of Tanjore, and began to throw shot and shell at the temples and pagodas. In the meantime English assistance had been called for, and 600 sepoys were on their march from Trichinopoly to Tanjore. After five days' firing a breach was made in the walls; but by this time Lally had burned nearly all his gunpowder, and, notwithstanding all his cattle-lifting and marauding, he had not provisions for more than two days. On the 8th of August his uneasiness was increased by intelligence that another engagement had taken place between the French and English squadrons. Early the next morning the English sepoys entered Tanjore, and made a destructive sortie. Lally, who narrowly escaped being slain, spiked his heavy guns, threw the shot into wells, destroyed most of his baggage, and then, in the darkness of night, began a disastrous retreat from Tanjore. On his road

he was informed that M. d'Aché was determined to sail away for the Mauritius, without seeking any further action with Pococke. The engagement between the hostile squadrons, reported to Lally while at Tanjore, had been a closer and hotter affair than the former encounter, and d'Aché at the end of it had run before the wind and escaped, though with two or three of his ships much shattered in their hulls. No prayers, no reproaches, no threats could induce the French admiral to remain any longer on the coast; and, on the 2nd of September, he took his departure.

To procure money for the siege of Madras, which he had determined to undertake, Lally now made predatory but very useless excursions to Arcot, where he could find nothing worth the taking. He returned to Pondicherry, to blame everybody and everything except his own folly and presumption. On his first arrival in the country he had resolved to be sole hero in India; and as soon as he had reduced Fort St. David he recalled M. Bussy from the Deccan, speaking contemptuously of the character and exploits of that truly remarkable man. Lally was a loud and bold talker, he made no secret of his sentiments, and Bussy would have been no Frenchman if he had not resented with vivacity these various attacks on his fame. Ill assorted and ill agreed, with rancorous feelings on both sides, they were to proceed together to capture Madras and root out the English power on the Coromandel coast, even as Clive had rooted out the French in Bengal. By contributing 60,000 rupees of his own, and setting a subscription on foot among the gentlemen of the council of Pondicherry —all very poorly provided with cash or averse to giving or lending—Lally raised 94,000 rupees; and with this insignificant treasure, and an army of 2700 Europeans and 4000 native troops, sepoys, and others, he repaired to Madras, where he arrived on the 12th of December, without money and almost without food for the troops. Major Laurence, Clive's old superior, and Mr. Pigot, held command within the walls of Madras, where the total of the force collected was 1758 Europeans, 2220

sepoys, and 200 of Mohammed Ali's cavalry—these last being scarcely worth their rations. On the 14th of December the French took possession of the black town, which was open and defenceless; and there the soldiers, breaking open some arrack stores, got drunk and mad, and committed great disorders. Batteries were erected, and a siege was begun in form. But Lally's condition was rendered desperate by the return of Admiral Pococke to the coast, and by the entrance into the harbour of Madras of two frigates and six of the company's ships, having on board 600 king's troops fresh from England. This was on the 16th of February, 1759, when Lally had been two months and four days under the walls of Madras. Again pouring out invectives and blaming everybody but himself, Lally on the night of the 17th decamped as silently as he could with his army in a mutinous state.

On the 6th of March Major Laurence, with 1156 Europeans, 1570 sepoys, 1120 colleries, 1956 horse, and ten field-pieces, of which two were twelve-pounders, commenced his march to Conjeveram, where Lally had concentrated his forces, but where he was looking in vain for some small detachments which he had intrusted to the rebellious brother of Mohammed Ali—for they had all been murdered by the ally whom they had been sent to assist, and who was now anxious to renew his friendship with the English and his allegiance to his brother, seeing that the star of Lally's fortune was becoming but a glimmering and uncertain light. For twenty-two days the French and English armies lay encamped in sight of each other. After this inactivity the English struck off for Wandewash, entered that town, and began to break ground against the fort. The French hurried to defend the place; and the English, giving them the slip, hastened back and took the more important fort of Conjeveram. On the 28th of May both Laurence and Lally put their armies into cantonments.

Towards the end of June three of the company's ships reached Madras with 100 recruits, and the welcome in-

telligence that the enterprising Coote, now a lieutenant colonel, might be shortly expected on the coast with 1000 of the king's troops. At the end of July the first division of the promised troops arrived at Negapatam. On the 20th of August Admiral Pococke bore away for Trincomalee, in the island of Ceylon, where, to his astonishment, he discovered his old adversary M. d'Aché with eleven ships of the line and three frigates.

The English squadron consisted of nine ships of the line, one frigate, two of the company's ships, and a fire-ship; their entire number of guns being 174 less than that of the French. Pococke determined on an immediate action, but the currents, the wind, and the weather prevented the close meeting of the fleets till the 10th of September, when, after a sharp action of two hours' duration, the careful Frenchman once more retired before the flag of Pococke. From the usual difference in their modes of firing, the English suffered most in their rigging, and the French lost the greater number of men. D'Aché, having all his top-masts standing, got safe to Pondicherry —which was his object—several days before Pococke could reach Negapatam. The arrival of the squadron saved the French council from absolute despair: it brought to them only 180 men, but it brought what was more needed than soldiers, it poured into the empty coffers at Pondicherry specie to the amount of about 16,000*l.* sterling, and a quantity of diamonds valued at 17,000*l.* which had been taken in an English East Indiaman. But d'Aché had scarcely landed these precious commodities, when he again intimated he must leave the coast immediately and return to the Mauritius; his orders being peremptory to take care of his ships, whose loss France could ill afford at this crisis of a losing war in Europe, in Canada, and nearly everywhere else. But the French on shore represented that Pondicherry must be lost, that everything they had obtained on the coast of Coromandel must be sacrificed to the English fleet and army, if the ships were withdrawn; all the inhabitants of Pondicherry, civil and military, assembled in council and signed a vehement protest; but neither this nor

anything else could prevail upon d'Aché to alter or delay his departure. He was, however, induced to land and leave behind him 400 Caffres who had been serving in his fleet, and 500 Europeans, partly marines and partly sailors.

Before the arrival of the dollars and diamonds, the French army in cantonments were reduced to an extremity of distress, and even Lally's own regiment had mutinied for want of pay. The English, who had surprised and taken the fort of Covrepawk in July, were encouraged, by the disorganized state of the enemy, to make an attack upon Wandewash; and on the 26th of September their whole army, under the command of Colonel Brereton, marched from Conjeveram for this purpose. Their approach, however, restored the French to some discipline and spirit; they gathered within and around the menaced fort, and an assault was repelled with the loss of 200 of the English. But in other directions the French lost ground almost daily; they were in rags and half starved, and Lally's only remaining hope was, that the money received at Pondicherry was more than was reported, and that he and his troops might obtain the greater part of it. Nor were quarrels and cabals in his own camp and quarters the only bitter fruit which Lally gathered by recalling Bussy from the Deccan. The English took advantage of the absence of that prevailing man to commence negotiations with several native chiefs in the Deccan, and even with Salibut Jung himself, and Clive from Bengal had detached Colonel Forde to the Northern Circars, those valuable provinces which had been ceded to Bussy. Forde, with 500 British troops, 2100 native troops, 6 field-pieces, 24 six-pounders for battery, a howitzer, and an eight-inch mortar, proceeded by sea to Vizagapatam. There he landed and joined the army of Anunderauze, who had engaged to co-operate against the French in the hope that the English would secure him in sundry territorial claims, and eventually make him sovereign of the Deccan. Before starting together a treaty was made between the English colonel and the Indian rajah; and it was finally

agreed on the part of the rajah that he should supply 50,000 rupees per month for the expenses of the English army.

Forde and the rajah then advanced to Peddapore, and there encountered M. Conflans, who had been left by Bussy in command of a French force, strong enough to have kept in awe the unwarlike Hindus, but too weak to stand against the English force now unexpectedly brought against them. The French were thoroughly defeated by the English and sepoys alone. Conflans had had the forethought to send off the military treasure on two camels, but the spoils of the field were very considerable: 30 pieces of cannon, most of which were brass; 50 tumbrils and other carriages laden with ammunition; seven mortars from 8 to 13 inches, with a large provision of shells; 1000 draught-bullocks, and all the tents of the French battalion. When the route of the French began, Forde, thinking that they might then have some heart and be of some use, called up Anunderauze's horse; but he might as well have called spirits from the vasty deep, for these black cavaliers, and all their infantry as well, with the rajah in the midst of them, had conveniently found a deep but dry tank, where they had remained cowering during the whole of the action, and from which they refused to move so long as there were cannon-balls and bullets flying about.* And, unfortunately, Anunderauze would no more pay than fight, so that for several weeks Forde, who had spent all the money he had brought with him, was reduced to a standstill. The French, however, still worse off, kept retreating; Rajahmundry was abandoned, and Conflans sought refuge in Masulipatam, urging Salibut Jung to send him some assistance. Salibut Jung responded to these appeals by putting an army in motion, and by collecting other troops at Golconda and Hyderabad. After a mischievous delay Colonel Forde obtained a little money from the rajah, and, marching through Ellore, where several native chiefs joined him, he arrived on

* Orme.

the 6th of March, 1759, in the neighbourhood of Masulipatam, Conflans's abiding-place, and the most important and strongest place the French had on that coast. The troops within were more numerous than the besiegers; yet Colonel Forde, by making an assault on three points at the same moment, induced Conflans to surrender, and after a siege of only twelve days Masulipatam remained to the English.

The victorious flag had not been hoisted a week over the walls, when two French ships with a reinforcement of 300 men appeared in the offing. They went back; but the army of the Subahdar, which had been marching to the relief of Conflans, halted where it was, and soon received in their camp the English commander, not as an enemy, but as a friend and ally. Salibut Jung, seeing that the English were everywhere victorious, and considering that their protection and assistance would be as valuable as that of the French had been, readily entered into a new treaty; by which he ceded a considerable territory about Masulipatam to the English, bound himself not to permit for the future any French settlement in his dominions, and to oblige the French army of observation collected at Rajahmundry, to evacuate the country and cross the Kistna within fifteen days; the English on their part agreeing to support him against his enemies in general, and his rebellious brother Nizam Ali in particular. As Forde prepared to march against them, the French broke up from Rajahmundry, crossed the Kistna, and marched to the westward, the Subahdar's elder brother having promised that he would take them into his pay in a short time.

The English factories which had been swept away by the successes of Bussy were immediately re-established, and Forde with his little army remained at Masulipatam till he should receive further orders from the presidency of Bengal, or rather from Clive, who originated and directed every great measure, taking, in all cases of indecision and doubt, the responsibility upon himself, and not unfrequently treating the council with contempt.

For many months he had acted as if he had been governor-general of Bengal or of all India, though his real place was on the Coromandel coast, and his rank merely that of governor of Fort St. David. The directors at home, after the catastrophe at Calcutta and the misconduct of Mr. Drake, had appointed a very absurd sort of government by rotation, but the members of this government themselves made Clive their president; and immediately after, learning the particulars of his victory at Plassey, the court of directors sent out his appointment to be governor of Bengal.*

Meer Jaffier very soon required the assistance of those who had made him nabob. Many native chiefs rebelled against him, and, far and near, he was almost surrounded by enemies, all eager for his throne, or for a slice out of his rich territories. Mohammed Kooly Khan, the lord of Allahabad, the rajahs Sunder-Sing and Bulwant-Sing, and, most powerful of all, his neighbour Soujah Dowlah, the nabob of Oude, were united—as far as such beings could unite in one object—against Meer Jaffier; and their cause received the high sanction of the name and afterwards the assistance of the Mogul of Delhi's eldest son, the Shah Zada, who had established himself in Rohilcund, and had, at the time, a considerable army of Rohillas, half soldiers and half robbers by profession, but a hardier and a braver race than any in the lower parts of Hindustan. In a short time the Shah Zada descended from Rohilcund with an army of 40,000 men, Rohillas, Mahrattas, Jauts, and Afghans; and other forces were expected to join him on his advance. The successor of Suraj-u-Dowlah thought he had no help or hope except in Clive, and he showered letters and messages upon him, and constantly besieged with prayers and agents the new English resident at Moorshedabad—Mr. Warren Hastings—who had arrived in India as a young writer in the year 1750, as poor and as friendless as Clive, who, if not the first to discover his abilities and energy of character, appears to have been the first that

* Sir John Malcolm, Life of Clive.

gave him any important promotion. Warren Hastings had a near view of the imbecility and confusion of the nabob's court and government—a confusion worse confounded by the intrigues and vices of the nabob's son Meeran—and he wrote nearly every day to his patron Clive that all classes confided in him, and in him alone; that without his intervention the whole fabric of government would fall to pieces by intestine broils, and Orissa and Bahar be severed from Bengal even before the arrival of the invaders from Rohilcund. Weakened by the force detached to the Circars under Forde, and by other detachments sent to Madras, Clive at this moment could only count in Bengal about 300 British infantry, 100 artillery, and 2500 disciplined sepoys. Yet with this force he not only resolved to meet the mighty confederacy which threatened Meer Jaffier, but he also sent orders to Forde to continue his conquests, and then to proceed not to Bengal, to join and assist him, but, if needed, to Madras, there to finish the Indian story of Count Lally. Clive began his march on the 25th of February, and arrived in a few days at Moorshedabad. On the 13th of March, he left Moorshedabad to advance upon Patna. Just before starting he wrote a letter to the secret committee, telling them that the enemy from the North had reached the river which divides Oude from Bahar, and were expected soon to be at Patna, the capital of the latter province; but he added, in a tone of perfect confidence, that with his 400 English and 2500 sepoys he would soon give a good account of the Shah. Zada, although his army was estimated to be 50,000 strong. At this moment he did not know whether M. Law and his fugitive band had joined the invaders or not. On arriving at Shahabad, Clive received intelligence that Ramnarrain, the governor of Patna, had abandoned his post and gone over to the Shah. Upon this he wrote to Meer Jaffier, telling him to give over the sports and pastimes of the Hooley—the carnival of the Indians—in which the nabob was then busily engaged at Moorshedabad, and hasten to the field if he desired to preserve his country. To Ramnarrain, whom he had served on

many occasions, and whom he had preserved from the treachery and rapacity of Meer Jaffier and Meeran, he wrote at the same moment—"I have neither eyes to see nor ears to hear the letter I have now received from Mr. Amyatt; nor could aught but the great confidence I have in him induce me to give credit to its contents. Have you no sense of the obligations you are under to me for all the cares and pains I have taken for you? If you had not courage equal to the occasion, yet what could have induced you to act so imprudent a part? What power has the Shah Zada to resist the united forces of the nabob and the English? Think then what will be your fate." The fact, however, proved to be that Ramnarrain had not run away to the enemy, but was only thinking of doing so; and when he received this letter, after some few words on the insufficiency of the means of defence, he declared that he would defend Patna, and prove true to the nabob. In effect, encouraged by the rapid marches of the English, that Hindu did prove true and steady, and the next news Clive received of him was, that he had repelled two assaults made upon the place. However, not to trust too much to Hindu valour, Clive hurried forward a detachment of his own sepoys under the command of Ensign Mathews to assist in the defence. But the dread of Clive's name alone was sufficient to disperse the invading army; and on the 5th of April, the day before Mathews could reach Patna, the Shah Zada, though he had possessed himself of some of the bastions, raised the siege, and began to retreat in the greatest disorder. M. Law with his small party joined the prince on the day of this retreat, but could not prevail upon him to halt and make another attack. The "Daring in War," the "Protector of the Great," entered Patna without any parade of triumph; but there were few that saw him there but felt he was in reality the lord of all that part of India. Meanwhile the Shah Zada, continuing his precipitate retreat, had crossed the river Caramnassa into Oude. The nabob of Oude, who had prepared to join him if he had been successful, now, with true Indian

faith, declared himself the enemy of the fugitive prince, who, deserted by the troops and abandoned by his followers, knew not whom to trust or whither to fly. Considering that Clive had more power and more generosity than any one else to whom he could address himself, he wrote an humble and imploring letter to him, and forwarded it by an officer who enjoyed his confidence. Notwithstanding the decided answer he got, the fugitive prince, in the extremity of his distress, sent several more letters or messages to Clive, who resolutely persisted in his first determination; but, out of compassion, sent his unhappy correspondent a present of 500 gold mohurs, or about 1000*l.* sterling, to enable him to escape to some safer country. The Shah Zada took this last hint, continued his flight, and was reported to be going to take refuge in the Gazipoor country. Clive then directed his arms against some Rajpoot and hill chiefs of Bahar, who had invited and assisted the Shah Zada, and, having reduced them to submission, rather by policy than by fighting, having tranquillized the whole country by processes which seemed as rapid as magic, and having left a small force in Patna to aid Ramnarrain, he returned quietly to Moorshedabad, and thence to Calcutta.*

Great were the services he had rendered to his ally, Meer Jaffier, and, if not to that poor phantom the Great Mogul, to the Grand Vizier who reigned in his name, and whose firmans were considered by the natives as the voice and will of the descendant of Aurengzebe. The vizier, as one mark of favour, informed Clive that the English might establish a factory at Delhi, the royal city; and he assured "The Daring in War" that the Mogul would show him the greatest favour, and that his honours should be increased. Meer Jaffier, who owed everything to him, gave more substantial and personal proofs of his gratitude, conferring on Clive, for life, as

* Orme.—Sir John Malcolm, Life of Clive.—Sir John proves, by documents and incontrovertible facts, that a very considerable portion of Mr. Mill's account of Clive's proceedings at this critical moment, in Bahar, is seriously incorrect.

a jaghire, or estate, the quit-rent which the company was bound to pay to the nabob for the extensive lands held by them to the south of Calcutta, which quit-rent was reputed to be worth thirty lacs of rupees, or about 30,000*l.* sterling, per annum. Mr. Warren Hastings had the satisfaction of drawing up, at the nabob's request, the form of the letter to be written to the council at Calcutta, to acquaint them with this splendid donation to his patron. But the gratitude of Meer Jaffier was not of a very enduring or steady kind. The nabob was made to feel every day that the power and consideration of the Englishman were far greater than his own; and that he, who had put him on a throne and defended him upon it, could at any time overthrow him, or abandon him to the tender mercies of his enemies. He looked round for some other support, and for some alliance with strength enough to curb the authority of Clive and impose on his own discontented chiefs, whose animosities, though secret, were sharp, and every day increasing through the rash violence of his son Meeran, and his own insincerity and broken agreements. No native prince could furnish a force that would look the little English army in the face. As for the French power, broken by Colonel Forde in the Circars and the Deccan, and fast breaking in the Carnatic by the folly of Lally and the bravery and skill of Major Coote, it was utterly annihilated in Bengal. The old might and fame of the Portuguese was now only a tradition, nor could it be said that the Dutch on the Indian continent possessed much more power than the Portuguese. Yet, in his impatience of the English supremacy, and in his total ignorance of the decline of the Dutch government in Europe, Meer Jaffier looked to this people for assistance; and though they had been slow in acknowledging his authority, and had been guilty of several slights very offensive to his pride, he opened secret communications with the Dutch factory at Chinchura, which had witnessed with jealousy and dread the British conquest of Chandernagore in its near neighbourhood. The places were only two miles distant from each other, and the near sight of the English flag was

worse than a nightmare to the Dutch factory, who now wrote the most urgent letters to the governor of Batavia exhorting him to fit out an expedition for the Hooghly, in order to balance the English power in Bengal. There was at the moment no war in Europe between Holland and England: but the governors and factors of the various European nations in India seem to have been wont, whenever it suited their purposes, to adopt and act upon the principle of the old buccaneers in America —that European treaties did not extend to the regions in which they were living, and that there was no peace beyond the equinoctial line. The authorities of Batavia were as eager to send an expedition as was the factory at Chinchura to request it, and in a short time accounts were received at Calcutta that the Dutch were preparing a strong armament. The nabob played his part well. When Clive sent notice to him of the Batavia armament, he pretended to be greatly alarmed, and expressed his hope that the English, in virtue of the treaty subsisting, would join their forces to his to oppose and prevent the invasion of his dominions. He also sent Clive the copy of a strong letter he had addressed to the Dutch factory. Early in the month of August a Dutch ship arrived in the Hooghly with European troops on board. Clive reported this arrival to Meer Jaffier, who, after betraying some confusion, sent a second letter to the Dutch factory, and ordered his troops at the town of Hooghly to join the English and prevent any Dutch ships or troops from ascending the river. The Dutch solemnly protested that the ship which had arrived in the lower part of the river had been driven in by stress of weather, and that she and the troops on board would depart in peace as soon as they had obtained water and provisions. The vessel, however, continued to lie where she was, and attempts were made to send soldiers up to Chinchura by concealing them in the bottom of native boats; but Clive issued his mandate that every Dutch or native boat should be stopped and searched. The gentlemen at Chinchura remonstrated and protested against these proceedings on the part of a friendly

power; but Clive continued to stop their soldiers and to send them back to their ship, telling the gentlemen of the factory that he was in Bengal in a double capacity; that as an English officer, while England was engaged in a war with France, he was justified by the laws of nations in searching all vessels whatever, not knowing but that they might introduce French troops into the country; and that, as an auxiliary to the Great Mogul, he was under the necessity, by a solemn treaty, to oppose the introduction of any European or foreign troops whatsoever into Bengal. Early in October Meer Jaffier arrived in person at Calcutta, as if merely intending to honour Clive with a visit. A day or two after advices came from below of the arrival of six more Dutch ships of a large size, and crammed with troops, partly Europeans and partly Malays, from Batavia and other Dutch settlements in the islands. "Now," says Clive, or a pen that wrote for him, "the Dutch mask fell off, and the nabob (conscious of his having given his assent to their coming, and at the same time of our attachment and his own unfaithful dealings with us) was greatly confused and disconcerted. He, however, seemed to make light of it; told the governor (Clive) he was going to reside three or four days at his fort of Hooghly, where he would chastise the insolence of the Dutch, and drive them soon out of the river again. On the 19th of October he left Calcutta; and, in place of his going to his fort at Hooghly, he took up his residence at Cojah Wazeed's garden, about half-way between that and Chinchura;* a plain indication that he had no apprehensions from the Dutch, whom he received there in the most gracious manner he could, more like friends and allies

* This Cojah, or Khodja, Wazeed, who was distinguished by the title of "The Glory of Merchants," was a person of great wealth and importance—a sort of second Omichund, who had lived a life of intrigue, serving and betraying all parties in turns. He had been an agent for the French, an agent for the English, but was latterly become an agent for the Dutch, and the secret medium by which they communicated with the nabob, and the nabob with them.

than as enemies to him and his country."* In three or four days Clive received a letter from the nabob, informing him that he had thought proper to grant some indulgence to the Dutch in their trade, and that the Dutch on their part had engaged to leave the river with their ships and troops as soon as the season would permit. But this reference to the seasons was unfortunate, inasmuch as, at the time of his writing, the season permitted their departure with the greatest safety. Clive, from the tenor of the letter and the whole course of the nabob's conduct, felt assured that the Dutch had no intention to quit the river, and that Meer Jaffier had given his permission to them to bring up their troops if they could. A very few days later, intelligence was received that the Dutch armament was actually moving up the river towards Calcutta, and that the Dutch agents were enlisting troops of every denomination at Chinchura, Cossimbuzar, and even as far up the country as Patna, and this plainly with the connivance of Meer Jaffier, and the more open assistance of his son Meeran. Clive saw that the junction of the armament from below and the troops from above, with the force already collected within the walls of Chinchura, would be followed by the declaration of the nabob in favour of the Dutch, and an immediate movement upon the English settlements. His force in Europeans was, at the moment, actually inferior in number to that of the Dutch on board the seven ships alone, without counting those in garrison at Chinchura; for the force from Batavia, now accurately reported, consisted of 700 Europeans and 800 Malays—the latter a far braver race of men than the natives of Bengal.

There was no time to be lost—this was no season for indulging in subtleties and nice distinctions, or for turning over the pages of Grotius and Puffendorf—and Clive resolved to proceed at once against the Dutch as if they were open instead of secret enemies. At the critical moment some of the council were startled by the notion

* Account from a MS. entitled 'A Narrative of the Disputes of the Dutch in Bengal.'

of infringing the treaties of peace existing between the United Provinces and Great Britain, and of commencing a war on their own responsibility. But Clive said that "a public man may sometimes be called upon to act with a halter round his neck." His private interests must have been in conflict with his public duty, for he had recently remitted a great part of his fortune to Europe through the Dutch East India Company, who might have kept the money in the banks of Amsterdam and Rotterdam, both in revenge and in compensation. These considerations might have induced another man to avoid extremities, but they appear to have had no weight whatever with "The Daring in War," who was equally daring in policy. It was not known whether the Dutch would come up the river and pass the English batteries with their ships and troops on board, or whether they would land the troops below the batteries, and march them thence by land, but Clive made the necessary dispositions against both these plans of operation, as far as comported with the smallness of his disposable force, consisting only of about 320 English, 1200 sepoys, and three of the company's ships, which were all that were then in the river. Just at this juncture Colonel Forde returned to Calcutta from his career of conquests in the Northern Circars and the Deccan: he had quitted his command on account of ill health and disgust at the conduct of the directors, who had not confirmed his appointment, and with the intention of returning to England by the first opportunity; but, at the invitation of his friend and patron Clive, he readily agreed to take the command of part of the forces. On the 19th of November Forde moved from Calcutta to the northward, took the Dutch settlement at Barnagore, on the left bank of the Hooghly, crossed the river the next day with his troops and four pieces of artillery, and marched towards Chandernagore, to strike terror into the factory of Chinchura, and to be ready to intercept the Dutch troops in case they should land. The rest of his troops, and the best and largest proportion, with many volunteers drafted from the militia, and part of an independent company mounted as

cavalry, Clive sent down to the forts on the river under the command of Captain Knox. Mr. Holwell, who had survived the black hole and the subsequent barbarity of Suraj-u-Dowlah, took charge of Fort William with the militia, consisting of about 250 English and a few Portuguese. Clive remained at Calcutta, but went and came, dividing his attention and presence between the two divisions of his army under Forde and Knox. It was noticeable that men who had been absolute cowards under Governor Drake, and the other imbeciles that presided over the defence of Calcutta at the time of Suraj-u-Dowlah's siege, were now brave, alert, and confident. The three English East Indiamen which had arrived after the Dutch were lying in the lower part of the river, between that squadron and the sea; but, as the Dutch ships now began to ascend the river, these Indiamen were ordered to pass them and station themselves above the English batteries at Charnock and Tanna, where fire-boats had been prepared to assist in destroying them. The Dutch commodore, on seeing the three Indiamen coming up, sent to tell Commodore Wilson that if he attempted to pass him he would fire upon him. On the 21st of November the Dutch cast anchor within range of the English cannon on the batteries; on the 23rd they landed on the Chinchura side of the river their army of 1500 men, and then dropped down with their ships to a place called "Melancholy Point"—for them appropriately so named—where the three English ships were lying ready for action. The moment the Dutch troops were landed Clive sent Captain Knox across the river to reinforce Colonel Forde, and ordered Commodore Wilson to demand immediate restitution of our vessels, subjects, and property; and, on their refusal, to fight, sink, burn, and destroy the Dutch squadron. The next day (the 24th) the demand was made and refused. The Dutch had seven ships, four of them being called "capital ships;" the English had only three, and they appear to have derived no assistance whatever either from the land-batteries, which were too far off, or from the fire-boats. Nevertheless Commodore Wilson, who began the attack, ended it

in two hours with the total defeat of the enemy. Apparently alarmed and stupified by the loss of their squadron, the Dutch and their Malays halted and wavered on their march to Chinchura, and on the 25th, the day after the fight on the river, they blundered upon a wretched position, from which retreat was difficult and a further advance impracticable. Forde with the quick eye of a soldier saw their blunder—saw that he had them upon the hip; but there came over him a doubt and a misgiving; and, hesitating to attack the troops of a European nation not in a state of declared war, he sent a hasty messenger across the river with a note to Clive, saying "that if he had the order of council he could attack the Dutch, with a fair prospect of destroying them." Clive, who was playing a quiet game at cards when the note reached him, took out his pencil, and, without quitting the table, wrote on the back of it—"Dear Forde, fight them immediately. I will send you the order of council to-morrow."* Accordingly, Forde fought the Dutch; and the engagement was short, bloody, and decisive. It took place in the valley of Bedarra, about four miles from Chinchura, part of the garrison of which place had contrived to join the Dutch, who were badly commanded by one Roussel, a French soldier of fortune, and who were put to a total rout in less than half an hour. The fugitives left on the field 120 Europeans and 200 Malays in killed; about 150, including M. Roussel and 14 other officers, were wounded, and about 350 Dutch and 200 Malays were taken prisoners. The total loss of the English was inconsiderable. From the field of his easy victory Forde marched to Chinchura, and, sitting down before that place, which he could have taken by a *coup de main*, he wrote to Calcutta for further orders. But the Dutch factory, in abject submission, implored for a cessation of hostilities. Deputies were appointed on both sides; the Dutch disavowed the proceedings of their squadron, humbly acknowledged themselves the aggressors, and agreed to pay costs and damages; and

* Sir John Malcolm, Life.

upon these conditions an amicable settlement was arranged, and their captured ships were all restored to them. Three days after the battle of Bedarra the nabob's son Meeran, whom Clive seldom mentioned without the affix of "scoundrel," encamped within two miles of Chinchura with about 6000 or 7000 horse. If the Dutch had proved victorious, he would have joined them in plundering and destroying the English; but, now that the English had obtained a complete triumph, he hoped to be allowed to share with them in the spoils of the Dutch. The terrified factory instantly applied to Governor Clive, entreating him to interpose, and not abandon them to the violence of the Mussulmans. Clive, losing no time, crossed the river to tell the young nabob what he might and what he might not do, and to save the Dutch factory from the chances of a black hole, or some other atrocity. Under his dictation Meeran agreed to a treaty, and then withdrew.

The few remaining months of Clive's present stay in India were devoted to various arrangements and precautions for securing the tranquillity of the country, and maintaining the always tottering authority of the pusillanimous nabob. When his intended departure was announced it filled Warren Hastings, and every one else interested in the continuance of peace, with doubt and alarm; for by all these men Clive was considered as the only Atlas that could prop up the ponderous machine. But Clive, on the other hand, had great objects in view. He knew that a peace with France was in contemplation, and he earnestly wished to arrive before such peace should be concluded, lest our negotiators, through a want of local and other knowledge, should surrender by treaty advantages and prospects which had been obtained by arms. He had previously announced his intention and wishes to the first great Pitt, then one of the principal secretaries of state, and one of the warmest of his admirers, who, improving, as orators do, upon Major Laurence's plain dictum that Clive was born a soldier, had called him in the British House of Commons "a heaven-born general—a man who, bred to the labour of

the desk, had displayed a military genius which might excite the admiration of the King of Prussia." To excite what seldom required exciting—the warlike spirit and imagination of the great orator, he laid before him in this letter the immense advantages and the gorgeous empire which might be obtained in the East if the English government would only send out a thousand or two of their best troops; he remitted an exact account of the revenues of Bengal, genuine and to be depended upon, as he had got it faithfully extracted from the books of the nabob's minister; and, as the English people were prematurely complaining of the amount of the national debt, he hinted that that burthen might be got rid of by means of Indian rupees. Having prepared his way in this and in other quarters, having called that most able officer Major Calliaud from the Carnatic to Bengal, and having paid a farewell visit to Meer Jaffier at Moorshedabad, Clive sailed from India on the 25th day of February, 1760. He had provided for the future to the extent of his means, information, or foresight; and he left brave and experienced men, trained by himself, behind him. Clive's prediction as to the result of the war in the Carnatic was justified by the fact, and by the fall of Pondicherry to English arms, an event which took place within a year after his departure.

While the French army was cantoned in the country round about Wandewash, and Lally and Bussy quarrelling more violently than before, Colonel Coote with the last division of his regiment arrived on the coast, and, on the 21st of November (1759), proceeded to Conjeveram, where the rest of the English troops were cantoned. As rapid as Clive, Coote fell upon the fort of Wandewash, carried it by storm on the 29th, marched to Carongoly, and took that place also by the 10th of December. Having obtained the services of a considerable body of Mahratta horse, Lally, by some artful movements, surprised and took Conjeveram, but he was disappointed in his expectation of finding there magazines and provisions for his half-famishing people. He next attempted to recover the fortress of Wandewash, where

the breaches they had made were still open, and where the English had hardly any artillery. But while he or his engineer officers were formalizing as to the proper construction of the battery of assault, Coote reached the spot and compelled the French to retreat. Lally's pride, however, forbade his retreating far, and he drew up in order of battle near the walls of Wandewash. He had with him 2250 Europeans and 1300 sepoys; but as for his Mahratta allies, they kept aloof. Coote had only 1900 Europeans, but he had 2100 sepoys, 1250 black cavalry, and 26 field-pieces.*

The French were more thoroughly defeated than ever they had been up to this time. Bussy, who gallantly put himself at the head of a regiment to try a bayonet charge, was abandoned by his men and taken prisoner. Lally escaped, protected by a small body of French cavalry. He collected his shattered army and retreated to the strong hill-fortress of Gingee. Instead of following him, Coote resolved to strike across the country to recover Arcot, where Lally some short time before, and with much theatric pomp, had proclaimed the son of Chunda Saheb nabôb or Subahdar of the Carnatic; and the very day after the battle of Wandewash, which was fought on the 22nd of December, he hurried forward a detachment in that direction. On the 1st of February, 1760, Coote himself arrived at Arcot, and on the 5th he began to cannonade the town from three batteries. On the 6th he commenced making approaches, and by the morning of the 9th the sap was carried to the foot of the glacis, and by the hour of noon on the same day two small breaches were made. Not three men in the garrison had been killed; the breaches were impracticable, and yet a flag of truce was held out, and Arcot was surrendered. Lally soon found it impossible to remain on the strong but barren hill of Gingee, and he retreated,

* Coote's black horse, however, did no more for him than Lally's Mahrattas did for the French:—they kept out of the reach of shot, and would not even pursue when the enemy were routed.

with what remained of his half-naked famishing army, to the vicinity of Pondicherry. Repairing himself to that city, he quarrelled anew with the council and all the authorities there, blaming them for the destitute state of his troops, and calling them embezzlers and peculators; and they, retorting with true Gallic vehemence, accused him of folly, imbecility, treachery, and even cowardice. During these unseemly altercations the French flag was struck down from nearly every place where it yet floated: Timery surrendered, Devi-Cottah was evacuated, Trinomaly surrendered, Permacoil and Alamparva were taken by storm, and the whole country between Alamparva and Pondicherry was laid waste by fire and sword. Carical, the most important place on the coast next to Pondicherry, was soon invested by an armament sent from Madras, and by a detachment which descended from Trichinopoly; the garrison made a miserable defence, and surrendered on the 6th of April, before a relief despatched by Lally could reach the place. The fall of Valore, Chillambaram, and Cuddalore followed in rapid succession.

By the 1st of May the English, who had been reinforced, encamped within four miles of Pondicherry; and the French, who had received no succour from their impoverished mother-country, were in a manner cooped up in that strong town, looking with a faint, declining hope for the arrival of a squadron, or some ship with some help from the Mauritius or Bourbon, or some other quarter. In his extremity Lally turned his eyes towards the country of Mysore, where Hyder Ali, who was afterwards to fill a wider scene, had established his authority by force of arms, and by force of intrigue and treachery. To bring Hyder on the back of Coote, Lally offered him present possession of the fort of Thiagur, which commanded two passes into the Carnatic, and future possession of Tinevelly and Madura—that is, when Lally and Hyder should turn the tide of war and dispossess the English of those two places. A bargain was concluded, Hyder agreeing to send droves of bullocks to feed the French, and troops to fight for the French. A

detachment sent by Coote to stop the march of Hyder's people was too weak for the purpose, and sustained a defeat; but, when the Mysoreans obtained a nearer view of the English army, and a correcter notion of the real and deplorable condition of Lally's forces, they thought their bargain a bad one, and, breaking it with the ordinary Indian unscrupulousness, they marched back to their own country, with troops and bullocks. Shortly before their departure six of the English company's ships arrived at Madras, and there landed a reinforcement of 600 men. More and more force continued to pour in, and still not a ship, not a man, not a barrel of beef or biscuit arrived to sustain the French in Pondicherry. In the course of the month of October, the English fleet was raised to seventeen sail of the line, and a picturesque regiment of kilted men from the bleak highlands of Scotland was disembarked to try their mettle and their power of enduring heat in the lowlands of Hindustan. By means which are not explained, and which are difficult to understand, as the French had neither money nor credit, and as Hyder Alí had done little for them in that way, Lally succeeded in obtaining some supplies of provisions. On the night of the 4th of September, he made a sortie, in the hope of surprising the English camp; but his troops no longer acted with concert or spirit; one of his divisions lagged behind, and the whole plan failed. The siege of Pondicherry, after the cessation of the rains at the end of November, was pressed with great vigour. Several batteries played against the town from the 8th to the 30th of December; and on the 12th of January, 1761, the trenches were opened, and the place was reduced to extremity. Nothing, therefore, was left to the fiery proud man who had arrived in India with the confident hope of extirpating the English and realising the grand schemes of Dupleix but to seek conditions and surrender. And, on the 14th of January, a commissioner from Lally and a deputation from the council of Pondicherry entered the English camp, and made an unconditional surrender to Colonel Coote. By order of the council of Madras, immediate preparations were made

for levelling the town and fortifications of Pondicherry with the ground. The white flag of the Bourbons still floated over the hill-fort of Thiagur, fifty miles in the interior of the country—the place which Lally had promised to Hyder Ali,—and over the other strong hill-fort of Gingee, about thirty-five miles north-west from Pondicherry; but the garrisons, isolated and without any hope of relief, soon surrendered; and, by the beginning of April, the French had not so much as a single military post in all India.

In the meanwhile Clive had been received with all honour in England. The fortune he had accumulated, even without counting the Jaghire conferred upon him by the nabob, amounted to 300,000*l.*, the Jaghire rendered from 27,000*l.*, to 30,000*l.* a-year, and he had credit for being even far richer than he really was. He was raised to the Irish peerage by the title of Baron Clive of Plassey, and was flattered by the prospect of a speedy elevation to the English peerage, which would give him a seat in the British House of Peers. For the present he took his seat in the House of Commons, where his wealth and his influence filled several other seats, and commanded votes besides his own. All parties courted him; but his admiration for Pitt increased on a personal acquaintance, and he steadily adhered to him till he was driven from office by the accession of George III. and the brief preponderance of Lord Bute. When Bute made overtures to him, Clive rejected them; and when this most unpopular minister precipitated his negotiations for a peace with France he avoided consulting Clive as to the Indian clauses and conditions. The conqueror of Bengal foresaw what would follow the restitution of Pondicherry and other places. Unable to gain Clive, the Bute administration leagued themselves with Mr. Sulivan and other directors of the East India Company, who entertained a personal animosity against Clive, and aimed at diminishing both his wealth and his reputation. As yet neither these personal enemies nor any one else raised a breath of scandal or reproach about his conduct towards Suraj-u-

Dowlah, or against his acceptance of the treasure from Meer Jaffier after the battle of Plassey; but what Sulivan and his colleagues challenged as objectionable and criminal was Clive's acceptance of the Jaghire, and his insisting on payment of those quit-rents from the company. In the opinion of the best English lawyers of the day, the grant of rent which Clive had received was valid; had been made by exactly the same authority from which the company had received their chief possessions in Bengal. It was in every respect unwise to enter upon a too nice and close examination of any of these Indian rights and titles; yet the hostile directors, in their anxiety to appropriate 30,000*l.* a-year, which they were bound to pay to the nabob before his transfer of the rent, and in their envy and hatred of Clive, who had treated some of them very superciliously, persevered in their attempt, and actually confiscated the Jaghire, or, which was the same thing, they stopped payment of the rents, and put the money into their own coffers. Clive indignantly, and without an hour's delay or hesitation, filed a bill in Chancery against the court of directors. At the same time Clive had written to his agents at Calcutta to institute a suit at law against the company there, and to transmit a very exact account of all proceedings, that they might be taken up in England. But while "The Daring in War" was thus involving himself in the mazes of law, and the company were battling with the man who had re-established their declining power, and gained provinces equal to kingdoms for them, news arrived that the garrison and all the English residents at Patna had been massacred, that revolutions, undertaken and made by the council at Calcutta, had proved miserable failures, and, in short, that every thing in Bengal was falling into confusion and ruin. It was felt immediately, even by the most violent of his enemies, that Clive, and Clive alone, could remedy these evils, and overtures were made to him for his instant return to India. The proprietors of East India stock, who elected the directors, and who were now determined that those directors should not through pique and party commit their property and future hopes of gain,

called a meeting, and at a very full general court Clive was unanimously solicited to return. He was nominated governor and commander-in-chief of the British possessions in Bengal, with the express understanding that no other officer of whatever rank should have the power of interfering with his command there. The court took the subject of the Jaghire into consideration, and soon agreed to the proposals which Clive himself made: *i. e.*, they confirmed his right to the full amount of the Jaghire rents for ten years, if he should live so long, and provided the company should continue during that period in possession of the lands round Calcutta charged with those rents.

Clive then sailed, for the third and last time, to India. He reached Calcutta on the 3rd of May, 1765, and found everything in confusion and a disorganization more fearful than he had anticipated. He called the council together and told them that he had come out to effect a thorough reform in their conduct, the source of most of the mischief which had happened; that it was his full resolution to effect a thorough reform, and, for that end, to make use of the whole of the ample authority, civil and military, which had been intrusted to him.

But these gentlemen of the council, and the weak and incompetent governor, Mr. Vansittart, had, during Clive's five years' absence from India, done deeds fitted to make men's faces pale and red alternately. At the period when Clive had taken his departure for England it was rumoured that the Shah Zada had collected another army and was again advancing against Patna; but it was conceived that a body of troops sent under that excellent officer Colonel Calliaud would enable Ramnarrain, the Hindu governor of Patna, to repel the invasion if really made. Ghasee-u-Dien, the vizier and master of Delhi, against whom the Shah Zada pretended in the first instance to have taken up arms, murdered the Great Mogul in a fit of desperation, and after this tragical event the Shah Zada took the state and title of emperor, and conferred the office of vizier upon Sujah Dowlah, the powerful ruler of Oude, who had shown no great devotion to his person or fortunes the year

before, when, as the rebellious son of the emperor, he was flying before the arms of Clive and Ramnarrain.

Shah Alum—"King of the World"—was the name which the new emperor chose for himself. With the assistance of the nabob of Oude, he soon collected a numerous army and began his march to the Caramnassa. Crossing that river he advanced to Patna, and defeated Ramnarrain, who came out of the city to meet him with a very inferior force and with only seventy Europeans and one battalion of English sepoys under the command of Lieutenant Cochrane, Colonel Calliaud being at the time engaged in some important operations on the left bank of the river between Patna and Moorshedabad. In this affair Ramnarrain was wounded, and the sepoys were cut to pieces; but most of the English fought their way to the city, the enemy not daring to resist them, but opening to the right and left to let them pass. And Colonel Calliaud having soon come up with his 300 English and 1000 sepoys, and with a native army commanded by Meeran, Shah Alum was completely routed and compelled once more to retire from before Patna. As, however, Meeran would not pursue with his cavalry, and as a strong body of Mahratta horse joined the other side, the young emperor, instead of retiring towards Benares, took the rout of Moorshedabad, being also joined at this time by the erratic M. Law and his small body of French. But being soon pursued, Shah Alum set fire to his camp, and fled towards Oude. Encouraged by the junction of the naib or sub-governor of Purneah, who, after many intrigues, threw off the mask and repaired to the Imperial standard with a considerable army, Shah Alum, doubling upon those who were pursuing him, got back to Patna, which had been left almost without troops. Mr. Fullerton, an English surgeon, was the chief manager of the defence, and M. Law of the attack. Two assaults were repulsed by the gentlemen of the English factory in Patna; part of the wall was demolished and the rampart was scaled by the French; the French were again beaten back; but a renewed assault in greater force was expected, and hope was abandoning the bold little garrison, when Captain Knox,

who had marched from Moorshedabad, in the hottest season of the Bengal year, with extraordinary rapidity, appeared in the neighbourhood, broke through the camp of the besiegers, and drove them from their works. A few days after Knox, with 200 English, one battalion of sepoys, five field-pieces, and about 300 horse, crossed the river opposite to Patna, and completely defeated the naib of Purneah with his army of 12,000 men.

The unlucky naib retreated with all speed towards the north, but he was soon followed by Colonel Calliaud's fresh troops and Meeran's cavalry, who crossed the Ganges, and moved on the more rapidly from the belief that he was carrying all the treasure of Purneah with him. Being overtaken, the naib put the treasure and the richer part of the baggage upon camels and elephants, skirmishing for a short time to give those useful animals a start, and then ran after them, leaving his artillery and his heavy baggage to the pursuers. On the 2nd of July, the fourth day of the pursuit, a tremendous storm necessitated a halt, and at night the tent of Meeran was struck with lightning, which killed him and some of his attendants on the spot. After this evil omen Meeran's troops became unmanageable, and Calliaud was obliged to retrace his steps to Patna, where he arrived on the 29th of July. He quartered the Europeans and the sepoys in English pay in and round about that important town; but Meeran's people made the best of their way to Moorshedabad, where they surrounded the palace and threatened the life of Meer Jaffier, in order to obtain payment of their arrears. Nearly at the same time other bodies of men took up arms against the old nabob, whose coffers were empty, and whose former friends were nearly all alienated from him, partly on account of his poverty, and partly because he had made several treacherous attempts against them; and the weak old man's misfortunes seemed to be completed by the predatory incursions of hordes of Mahrattas, who destroyed even more than they plundered.

On the other hand, Mr. Vansittart, the new governor at Calcutta, found the treasury empty, and the English troops and sepoys almost mutinous through want of pay;

and he was induced to acquiesce in all the notions and schemes of Mr. Holwell, who had come to the conclusion that Meer Jaffier, by his treachery, cruelty, weakness, and extravagance, was the cause of all these evils, and that the English, who had made him nabob, ought, not less for the good of the natives than for our own benefit, to unmake him without loss of time. And in effect on the 27th of September (1760), before Mr. Vansittart had been two months at Calcutta, a treaty was concluded with Meer Cossim Ali, son-in-law to Meer Jaffier and general of his army, engaging that he should be invested with full power as nabob or ruler of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, upon condition of his making over to the company the fruitful provinces of Burdwan, Midnapoor, and Chittagong. Governor Vansittart, though a mild, formal man, and one that paid homage to rules and conventionalities, went in person to Moorshedabad with the modest intention of persuading Meer Jaffier that he was unfit and unworthy to be nabob, and that he ought at once to resign his power into the hands of his more competent son-in-law. The old nabob stared with astonishment and chafed with wrath; but the quiet peace-loving governor had brought 180 English soldiers, 600 sepoys, and four pieces of cannon to second his persuasions, his own army had declared for Meer Cossim, many of his own chiefs were seeking his life, and there was no help for him. Accordingly, the old man, with his women and children, was conveyed to Calcutta, where alone he could be safe; and Meer Cossim Ali was proclaimed nabob, with a firing of guns and a beating of drums and tomtoms, and other ceremonials that would suit the winding-up of a melo-drama in a playhouse. But Messrs. Vansittart and Holwell, and the other gentlemen of the council, who had driven on this revolution, had committed a capital mistake in assuming that the new nabob would suit their purpose better than the old one. Meer Cossim soon let them know that he had a will of his own, and that he had abilities and a kind of courage which, for Bengal, might be called heroic, but which was accompanied with cruelty and ferocity.

In the month of January, 1761, Major Carnac, who

had succeeded Colonel Caillaud in the command of the company's troops in Bahar, advanced from Patna against the Emperor Shah Alum, who was once more making head in that province. Meer Cossim placed some of the troops which had belonged to Meeran under the orders of Carnac, who, being also joined by Ramnarrain and his forces, gained an easy and complete victory over the Mogul. In this affair M. Law, who had been so long flitting from place to place, seated himself cross-legged on one of his guns, and in that curious attitude surrendered to Major Carnac and Captain Knox. The French, his companions, tired of the wandering life they had led with him, deserted him when the retreat began, and followed the emperor, who retired towards Delhi, and shortly after sent the new nabob, Meer Cossim Ali, his investiture as Subahdar or Nabob of Bengal, &c.

At the same time Shah Alum offered the English the dewannee, or receivership, of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, if they would send an army into central India to secure him in possession of Delhi, and of a throne that was tottering as it had been for generations. The project was entertained by the council at Calcutta, but they had been obliged to send a great part of the money they had received from the new nabob to Madras, to enable that presidency to prosecute the siege of Pondicherry, not yet brought to a close. Meer Cossim was incessantly called upon for more money; but he had given in presents to the governor and council for his elevation upwards of 200,000*l.*;* in ceding to the company the

* The following is a list of the presents acknowledged to have been received:—

	Rupees.	£.
Mr. Vansittart	500,000	58,333
Mr. Sumner	240,000	28,000
Mr. Holwell	270,000	30,937
Mr. M'Guire	180,000	20,625
Mr. Smith	134,000	15,354
Major Yorke	134,000	15,354
General Caillaud	200,000	22,916
Mr. W. M'Guire	75,000	8,750
		£200,269

countries of Burdwan, Midnapoor, and Chittagong, he had given away a third part of his revenues: the company's servants of all sorts, by the abuse they made of the dustucks or permits, exempting goods from the payment of duty, stopped another source of revenue; and he was soon as poor as his predecessor. Casting about him for some great prey, his greedy eye fell upon Ramnarrain, the celebrated governor of Patna, whose treasury and life had been aimed at by Meer Jaffier, but preserved and declared sacred by Clive. Mr. Vansittart, being warned of Meer Cossim's designs, at first instructed Major Carnac to afford every protection to Ramnarrain, who had received so many pledges from the English, and who had recently rendered them such valuable services in repelling the attacks of the Mogul. But it appeared to be the fate of Mr. Vansittart never to persevere in any one line of conduct, good or bad, honourable or dishonourable: he listened to the suggestions and promises of Meer Cossim, he took great offence at the free and spirited language of Major Carnac, and he sent Colonel Coote, now returned from the conquest of Pondicherry, to supersede the major at Patna. But Coote had as high a sense of honour as Carnac, and upon seeing what was expected from him, he refused to be an active agent in, or a passive spectator of, the betrayal and ruin of the Hindu governor. Vansittart and the council then recalled Coote, and Ramnarrain was left to the mercy of the new nabob: he was thrown into prison, his house was broken open and plundered, his friends and servants were tortured in order to make them confess where lay his hidden treasures—for the money actually found was a mole-hill instead of a mountain. The disappointed tyrant, fearing the indignation of the English, did not put his prisoner to death immediately; but two years later, when he had drawn the sword against those who had made him nabob, he murdered Ramnarrain, together with several other chiefs, both Mussulmans and Hindus.

The immediate consequence of this base abandonment of Ramnarrain was the cessation of all friendly correspond-

ence between the English and the native nobility, who could no longer repose confidence in the government of Calcutta. Both Hindus and Mussulmans, thinking it wiser to conciliate the new nabob than trust to the foreigners, made offers of their money and their services; and Meer Cossim, encouraged by their adhesion and by the general and increasing unpopularity of the company, flattered himself that he might soon be in a position to defy the English authority. He began by complaining and protesting against the abuses made of the dustucks or permits, by which he was deprived of his revenue, and, soon proceeding from words to deeds, he stopped goods protected by the dustucks, and he even stopped and searched boats going up the Ganges, not merely with the dustucks, but also with the company's flag. In nearly every instance he found salt, or betel, or tobacco, or some other of the articles prohibited or reserved to the nabob in the treaty; and in many instances he ascertained that the servants of the company had sold the dustucks to natives —to his own subjects, who had no right to them. Mr. Vansittart negotiated a new treaty, which, while leaving some advantages to the servants of the company, made a surrender of others. But this inept governor had not the faculty of enforcing obedience on the wilful, rapacious crew at Calcutta and the other English factories, and Meer Cossim had neither the power nor the will to make the treaty be observed on his side.

The vacillation and infirmity of purpose displayed by the council at Calcutta led the nabob to despise what he and all Bengal had feared. Throwing down the pen, and writing no more letters of complaint, he called the boldest of his officers round him, seized two of the company's boats that were proceeding to Patna with arms, and made preparations for getting Patna into his own hands. Apprised of this latter intention, the majority of the council remitted orders to Mr. Ellis, the chief at Patna, to anticipate the nabob's design by seizing upon the citadel. Ellis no sooner got the order than he acted upon it by surprising and taking the citadel of Patna by night on the 24th of June, 1763. On receiving the news

of this event Meer Cossim's rage knew no bounds. Exclaiming against the treachery of the English, he murdered Mr. Amyatt, who had formerly been chief at Patna; he murdered two Hindu bankers, supposed to be attached to the English interests; threw forward a great army to Patna; drove the English from the town to their factory outside of it, and from the factory to their boats. These English troops, who had behaved as disgracefully as the supreme council at Calcutta had behaved unwisely, fled up the Ganges to Chuprah, where they were surrounded, deprived of provisions, and reduced to lay down their arms. They were sent prisoners to Monghir, where they found for their companions their countrymen from Cossimbuzar, which factory had been attacked and plundered by the nabob.

In the meantime the supreme council at Calcutta had entered into new arrangements with Meer Jaffier, and had determined, as the best mode of checking the career of his son-in-law, to let him loose upon him, and set him again upon the musnud from which they had so recently pulled him down. The old nabob, passive as a nine-pin, confirmed the grants of territory made by Meer Cossim, granted an exemption to the company's servants from all search, and from all duties except upon salt, and engaged to pay to the company thirty lacs of rupees for the expense of this new war against his son-in-law, and to maintain at his own charge an army of 24,000 men, horse and foot. Having issued his mandates to the chiefs and to the cities of the three vast provinces, he joined the English, who were now advancing upon Moorshedabad. Meer Cossim sent three of his generals to meet them on their march, and an encounter took place on the 19th of July. The three native generals were completely routed; but they made head again near Geriah, whither Meer Cossim sent the greater part of his remaining troops to join them. Among these large reinforcements was a regiment of sepoys, disciplined in the European manner, and commanded by an European adventurer, whose real name is lost in his Indian designation of Sumroo, and whose real country is unknown, though he is generally

called a German, and is known to have first gone to India as a sergeant in the French army.* On the 24th the English dispersed some detachments, and took possession of Moorshedabad without opposition; and on the 2nd of August they gave battle in the plain of Geriah. Their force amounted to about 750 Europeans, 1500 sepoys, and some squadrons of native cavalry. The number of Meer Cossim's army was as ten to one; it was supported by an immense train of artillery; the sepoys under Sumroo were perfectly well trained, and most of the other corps were better disciplined and appointed than any native troops the English had yet encountered. Thus the battle was maintained for nearly four hours. But at last the nabob's army was thoroughly defeated and driven off the plain, with the loss of all their cannon. They fled to an intrenched camp which Meer Cossim had formed at Oodwa. That nabob, after executing some of the chiefs who were in the English interest, and sending his family and treasure to a strong fort, left Monghir in person with the avowed intention of throwing himself into the camp at Oodwa; but when he came near that scene of danger he halted, wavered, and turned back. Yet so strong was the position at Oodwa that it detained the English for three whole weeks. At length, however, on the 5th of September, the camp was carried after some hard fighting, and the whole army of the nabob was scattered. Murdering one or two more chiefs, Meer Cossim fled towards Patna, and was followed by such portions of his disheartened troops as still kept together. The English advanced and laid siege to Monghir, which had been carefully fortified, and which was defended by 2000 sepoys, disciplined by Sumroo. After nine days of open trenches the garrison, early in October, surrendered. Meer Cossim, who had made Monghir his capital, in preference to Moorshedabad, the old residence of the

* Sir John Malcolm says that he was told by a well-informed friend that he was not a German, but a Frenchman or Swiss, of the name of Sombre, which, perhaps, had been only his *nom de guerre* when in the French service.

nabobs or subahdars of Bengal, who had expended large sums in fortifying it, and who had entertained the hope that it could repulse the English army, was thrown into a paroxysm of rage by the news of the surrender, and his fury vented itself in ordering the execution of all the English who had been taken at Patna, with Mr. Ellis, the chief. The European adventurer, Sumroo, undertook the execution, and directed the massacre of 150 Englishmen; every soldier and every servant of the company being brutally murdered, with the single exception of Mr. Fullerton, the surgeon. After this bloody deed Meer Cossim abandoned Patna to the care of one of his chiefs, and retreated towards the Caramnassa. The British army took Patna by storm on the 6th of November, and then continued their march to the Caramnassa, which they reached early in December, but too late to catch the flying nabob, who had crossed that river some days before, and had gone with Sumroo to seek the protection of the nabob of Oude. Sujah Dowlah, the powerful ruler of Oude, and recently appointed vizier to the young emperor, was at Allahabad, and Shah Alum was with him. He had previously concluded a treaty with the ejected nabob, and, pretending to be earnest for his restoration, he marched his army to Benares, and encamped not many miles from the English.

At this critical moment an alarming mutiny broke out in the English camp, and many of the sepoys deserted. Major Carnac was soon followed by Sujah Dowlah, Meer Cossim, and Shah Alum. He encamped under the walls of Patna, and was there attacked, on the 3rd of May, 1764, by an overwhelming force, foremost in which was the devil Sumroo, with the best of the disciplined infantry. But the spirit of disaffection and mutiny had vanished at the sight of the enemy; the sepoys in English pay rivalled in bravery and steadiness the native English troops; attack after attack was repulsed; and the battle, which began at noon, was ended at sunset by the defeat and rout of the assailants, whose loss had been tremendous. Almost immediately after this reverse the Nabob of Oude opened a correspondence with Meer

Jaffier, the restored nabob, and offered to support him in Bengal and Orissa, if he would only cede to Oude the whole country of Bahar; and nearly at the same time the emperor Shah Alum sent a private message to Major Carnac, offering to abandon both the nabob of Oude and Meer Cossim for English protection and alliance. These negotiations, however, came to nothing for the present, and the two nabobs and the emperor retreated together from Bahar into Oude. In the month of May, 1764, Major Hector Monro reached Patna with a considerable reinforcement of British troops, and assumed the command of the whole army. To put a stop to the mutiny of the sepoys, whom he found clamouring for higher pay, Monro blew twenty-four of their ringleaders from the mouths of his cannon. This extreme measure was attended with complete success: there was no more mutiny from that day forward.* As soon as the rainy season drew to its close Monro led his reformed army against the enemy; and, on the 22nd of October, having crossed the Sona, he gave them a defeat which entirely broke the power of the nabob of Oude, the only Mogul prince that the English had to fear. One hundred and thirty pieces of artillery were left on the field by Sujah Dowlah, who, cursing his allies, fled towards Lucknow. Shah Alum immediately repeated to Major Monro the overtures he had before made to Major Carnac, complaining that Sujah Dowlah treated him more like a state-prisoner than an emperor. Monro wrote to the presidency at Calcutta for instructions. When Monro arrived at the city of Benares Sujah Dowlah sent to offer him twenty-five lacs of rupees for the company, twenty-five lacs for his army, and eight lacs for himself, if he would consent to a peace and quit the country of Oude; but the major refused to treat un-

* The twenty-four victims were selected out of a whole battalion of sepoys, who, after threatening the lives of their European officers, were marching off by night to join the enemy. They were tried by a field court-martial composed of their own black officers, who found them guilty of mutiny and desertion.

less the nabob previously delivered to the English Meer Cossim and Sumroo. Sujah Dowlah, who had already quarrelled with the ex-nabob and seized the treasure he had with him, urged that he could not be guilty of a breach of the sacred laws of hospitality, but that he would undertake to induce Meer Cossim to abandon all thoughts of sovereignty and flee to a distant country, where he could give no umbrage to the company or to Meer Jaffier. As for the European, Sumroo, he was not so scrupulous, proposing to invite him to a feast, and there have him murdered in the presence of any English gentlemen Monro might choose to send to witness the punishment. These proposals were not relished in the English camp, and the negotiation with the nabob of Oude was broken off. The treaty with the emperor was then hurried to a close, Shah Alum, as Mogul and lord of the whole, granting to the English the country of Gazzipoor, with all the rest of the territory of Bulwant Sing, the Zemindar of Benares, and the English agreeing to put Shah Alum in possession of the city of Allahabad and the remainder of the dominions of Sujah Dowlah. As a last and perilous expedient, the nabob of Oude, who was thus to be deprived of all his dominions, made application to Ghazee-u-Deen, vizier and murderer of the late emperor, Shah Alum's father; and this chief, of Mahratta race, being joined by Mulhar-Row-Holkar, descended into Oude with a great army of Mahratta horse. With these allies Sujah Dowlah once more tried his fortune against the English, who had taken possession of Lucknow, the capital of Oude, and of Allahabad, the strongest fortress of the country. On the 3rd of May, 1765, a battle was fought near Corah, the English being again under the command of Major Carnac (now General Carnac). The Mahrattas were quickly dispersed by the English artillery, and the whole of the confederate army was broken and driven across the river Jumna.

In the meantime Meer Jaffier had again vacated the musnud, and this time for good; for it was death, and not the supreme council at Calcutta, that had removed

him. Having no longer any money to give, and being harassed and fretted into a fever by importunities and menaces, he was allowed to repair to Moorshedabad, where he breathed his last in January, 1765, about four months before General Carnac's great victory.

Moreover, on the very day of that victory, Clive had arrived at Calcutta with powers to set right all that had been done wrong during his absence. Before mentioning his bold proceedings in council, we may relate the conclusion of the operations in Oude; a conclusion which was not come to without his intervention. A few days after his defeat at Corah, Sujah Dowlah, having announced his intention of throwing himself upon the mercy and magnanimity of the English, repaired to the camp of General Carnac, who received him with much distinction. The nabob assured the general that Meer Cossim had fled into Rohilcund, and that Sumroo had escaped to the far-off regions on the Indus. Carnac readily agreed with him that the company could not safely or profitably occupy the extensive dominions of Oude; that he was more capable of defending those territories than Shah Alum, to whom they had been promised by the recent treaty; and that in his hands they might be made a barrier against the Mahrattas and Afghans. As soon as he heard of these events, which was almost as soon as he arrived at Calcutta, Clive set off for Allahabad to take the negotiations into his own management, and to conclude a settlement with Sujah Dowlah and the emperor, with or without the aid of General Carnac. His lordship, however, found important business to settle at Moorshedabad, where affairs had fallen into a chaos of confusion; and it was not till the end of July that he reached the English camp at Allahabad, which then contained the persons both of the Mogul of Delhi and the Nabob of Oude. The new treaty was then taken up with earnestness, the old one with the emperor—if we can call old what had been made only a few months before—being torn up as waste paper; and it was agreed that Shah Alum must rest satisfied with the possession of Allahabad and Corah, and that all the rest of Oude

should be restored to Sujah Dowlah, who was to continue vizier to the emperor, and never on any account to employ or give shelter to Meer Cossim or Sumroo. Sujah Dowlah engaged to oppose the Mahrattas and defend the frontiers of Bengal, and the English bound themselves to afford him assistance in case of invasion. Shah Alum, in right of the Imperial authority, which would have been a name and a shadow without the presence of the armies of the company, granted to the English the dewannee, or collection of the revenues, in Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, in return for which he was to receive, in addition to the revenues of Allahabad and Corah, twenty-six lacs of rupees per annum. Along with this dewannee—which, in fact, constituted the company masters and sovereigns of the vast and rich regions named in the grant—the young emperor confirmed the right of the company to all the territory which they possessed in any other part of India.

The power of the English in Bengal, hitherto undefined and in constant and inevitable collision with that of the nabob, was fixed, and became, in fact, a real and sole sovereignty, by the bargains he had concluded with Shah Alum and the son and successor of Meer Jaffier. Clive, however, thought that the name of a nabob might still be of some use, particularly in dealings with the other European nations, like the Dutch and Danes, who retained their possessions in Bengal, and the French, who had obtained repossession of theirs, though bound not to fortify them, by the recent treaty of peace. But the phantom he left at Moorshedabad, surrounded by guards and silver maces, was, in fact, a mere pensioner of the company, alike incapable of doing either good or evil in the political affairs of the country. Having restored discipline to the army, checked the rapacity of the civilians, and, as he considered, done all that he had come to do, Clive was anxious to return home, for his health was again very seriously affected. On the 16th of January, 1767, he attended for the last time a meeting of the select committee at Calcutta. In his farewell address he told them that he could now leave the country

in peace and in a flourishing state; but he strongly advised them not to be over anxious to increase the revenues, especially where increase could only be effected by oppressing the native landholders and tenants. A few days after he took his final farewell of India, embarking for England in the 'Britannia.' He arrived at London in the month of July, was hailed with acclamations by the court of directors, was received with unusual regard by George III. and Queen Charlotte, to whom he brought letters and presents from the nabob of Oude,* and was then carried by his family and friends to Bath, to seek a cure or an alleviation to some of the worst ills that flesh is heir to—spasms, indigestion, loss of sleep, and hypochondriasis.

In the course of the year 1767 the Afghans created some alarm in Bengal by marching upon Delhi; but after devastating several provinces the invaders returned to their mountains. The presidency made a feeble attempt to restore the rajah of Nepaul to his dominions, which had been seized by a neighbouring chief of Ghurka. The country of Nepaul, almost surrounded by mountains, was found too difficult of access by the small force sent against it; and the officer in command of the expedition thought proper to return, after a vain application for reinforcements, which the government at Calcutta could not spare, as they had been obliged to send several large detachments to the Carnatic, where the flames of war were rekindled by Hyder Ali. This great adventurer, who became one of the most formidable of our opponents in India, had, since his expedition to the neighbourhood of Pondicherry as the ally of M. Lally, greatly increased his army, which was originally formed out of the freebooting bands and tribes that abounded in Western India, and that sought no other reward than the right and privilege of plunder. Instead of paying them, Hyder, in a manner, received pay from them—for, in enrolling under his banner, they engaged to give him half of the booty they might make. By

* Sir John Malcolm, Political Hist. of India.

degrees he acquired more horses, camels, and elephants; more money, and the command of more men, than his benefactor and nominal master, the rajah of Mysore; and he accordingly made war upon the rajah, whose court and army had the usual number of disaffected chiefs and traitors, defeated him, took him prisoner, and, as a climax to his gratitude, kept possession of all his dominions, and pensioned him off with three lacs of rupees per annum. At the end of the year 1761 Hyder's authority seemed firmly established in Mysore. But his own disposition and the habits of the marauders in his service led him to look to an extension of dominion, or to the plunder of the neighbouring states; and the success which attended his banner, and the high notions entertained of his ability and lucky star, attracted others of the loose tribes that owned no sovereign, and no law or right save that of the sword. His abilities were undoubted—they were altogether surprising, considering the circumstances of his life and his total want of education—and they improved by practice, age, and experience. Still, however, he remained a barbarian, and the plaudits bestowed upon him by many European writers are exaggerated and absurd. That such a man could ever have extended his sway over the greater part of India, or, at least, that he could ever have rendered that sway durable, appears to us a most fantastic dream; and that a character stained by the darkest treachery, ingratitude, and cruelty should have found admirers in historians pedantically moral and severe in their estimates of other actors in these wars and revolutions, must be attributable to a love of paradox and contradiction, or to the predetermined plan of praising all that prevented, and blaming all that promoted, the establishment of the British empire in India—that great result, not unattended with faults and crimes, which no conquest ever yet was, but admirable in its general operation, as conferring more happiness upon many millions of people than they ever had enjoyed, or could ever hope to enjoy, under their native Mohammedan or Hindu rulers.

Notwithstanding some serious checks, he soon under-

took and achieved the conquest of the province of Malabar, and kept that country by cutting off all the nairs or Hindu chiefs. Soon, however, he was recalled to the city of Seringapatam, which he had made his capital and had already strongly fortified, by intelligence that a league had been formed against him by the English, the Mahrattas, and the ruler of the Deccan. The Deccan was no longer in the hands of Salibut Jung, the old ally of M. Bussy, and then of Colonel Forde. Fresh revolutions had been effected at Golconda and Hyderabad; Salibut Jung had been made a prisoner by his brother, Nizam Ali, who occupied his throne, and respected his life until the arrival of the treaty of Paris, which recognised and acknowledged Salibut as lawful sovereign, and which induced Nizam Ali to order his immediate murder. At first the new Subahdar, or as he is more generally called by our writers, the Nizam, seemed unfavourable to the English, and he actually had invaded the Carnatic and made war upon Mohammed Ali in the most barbarous and destructive manner: but he had fled before Colonel Campbell and a small British force, and since then he had concluded a treaty with the company, confirming to them the conquests which Colonel Forde had made in the Northern Circars, on condition of their paying a small tribute or quit-rent, and holding in readiness a body of their troops for his service whenever he might want such aid. By this latter engagement, and by their conviction that it was necessary for their own safety to stop the career of Hyder Ali, the English were carried into the confederacy with the Nizam and the Mahrattas, and into the war with Mysore.

The first of the confederates to take the field was the Peishwa, who covered the high table-lands of Mysore with his Mahratta cavalry. Colonel Smith, after a visit to Hyderabad, followed with a small English corps and the large but disorderly army of the nabob of the Carnatic. He was joined by another large force raised by the Nizam of the Deccan, but before he could arrive near the Mahrattas the Peishwa had listened to a Brahmin, despatched to him by Hyder Ali, and had consented,

on the payment of thirty-five lacs of rupees, to quit the country and break all his engagements with the Nizam and the English. This defection rendered success doubtful, and Colonel Smith was soon obliged to think of his own safety by the important discovery he made, that the Nizam himself was privately negotiating a treaty with Hyder, the main scope of it being the expulsion of the company from the Carnatic, from the Circars, and from every place they held on the Coromandel coast. Colonel Smith instantly separated from the Nizam's army, and hastened to defend the Carnatic, by taking possession of the ghauts or passes leading through the mountains into that country. He received some reinforcements from Mohammed Ali, the nabob of the Carnatic; but he could not secure all the passes against three numerous armies, and his rear was soon threatened by the rapid Mahratta cavalry. Smith retreated for Changama, a town about sixty miles from Madras, but before he could reach that place he was attacked by the three armies of Hyder Ali, the Peishwa, and the Nizam. His well-disciplined infantry stood their ground and repulsed their countless assailants; but the maranding Mahrattas got at their rice-bags and carried them off, and, to avoid starving, Smith's forces were obliged to continue their retreat, and to march day and night until they reached Trinomalee, a town strongly situated on a hill and well supplied with provisions. Plundering, burning, and destroying all the open country, the enemy followed closely upon the steps of Colonel Smith, who, receiving reinforcements of sepoys, did not long remain inactive at Trinomalee, but, issuing into the open country, he endeavoured to save it from the scourges and firebrands. His efforts were not very successful, as he had scarcely any cavalry. Seizing a favourable moment, Hyder Ali detached his son, Tippoo, then a youth of seventeen, to beat up the neighbourhood of Madras with 5000 horse. Tippoo's advance was so secret and rapid that he nearly succeeded in seizing the members of the presidency and the chief and richest of the English in their country-houses with-

out the town. The fortress of Madras itself, which had repulsed Lally and a French army with battering cannon, had little to fear from Mysorean cavalry: but the town, the black town, the magazines or warehouses, villas, gardens, villages, all things in its vicinity, were ransacked or destroyed, the country was laid as waste and bare as a desert, and an immense loss was sustained by the English and the poor natives, their tenants or dependants. Tippoo retired as fast as he had come, and with considerable booty; but his father and his allies were not left long unmolested, being attacked and routed by Colonel Smith, near Trinomalee. The Nizam of the Deccan, who was the first to recommend this pitched battle with the English, was also the first to flee. By this time he had enough of the war and of his new alliance, and he lost no time in signifying to Colonel Smith that he was exceedingly anxious to be restored to peace and to the friendship of the English. After very little negotiation the Nizam agreed to separate his troops from the Mahrattas and the Mysoreans. Bolder and more persevering than he, Hyder and the Mahrattas resolved to try the chances of another pitched battle; and in the month of December they took the field and posted themselves near Ampoor, a town in the Carnatic, about 108 miles from Madras. Colonel Smith met them there and gave them another defeat, more decisive and complete than the preceding one. Hyder and his ally fled to Caverypatam, on the river Panaur; and the Nizam, who had waited the event of the battle before he entirely forsook the confederacy, drew off all his troops and concluded his separate treaty with the English.

Encouraged by their successes, by the departure of the Peishwa, and by the despondency of Hyder, the presidency at Madras determined to carry the war into the very heart of his own dominions; and Colonel Smith, who had displayed so much bravery, rapidity, and skill, received orders to march into Mysore. Unfortunately, the civilians took it into their heads that they could direct the campaign from their sofas and easy chairs at Madras; and, instead of leaving the plan and conduct of the war

to Colonel Smith, they prescribed rules for him to follow. To make matters worse still, they sent to the army two members of council as field-deputies, who were to act in concert with the presidency, and keep the war entirely under their control. Functionaries like these are sure to ruin what they meddle with. The presence and interference of the two civilians disgusted alike officers and men, and from the moment of their arrival in camp the spirit of the army seemed to evaporate. To favour its operations the presidency of Bombay sent a force to the western coast to fall upon Hyder's recent conquests in Malabar and Canara. This force, favoured by the Hindu natives, captured Mangalore, Onore, and other places, and drew Hyder down to the western coast. This enabled Colonel Smith to arrive in the neighbourhood of Bangalore, and Colonel Wood to overrun the fertile country near the frontiers. But Hyder, having succeeded in the west in expelling the English force from Bombay, returned rapidly to the east to face them there. He made overtures for a peace, but they were rejected by the two field-deputies. At this juncture the presidency, moreover, dissatisfied with Colonel Smith because he treated the deputies or their opinions in war with little respect, and because he had not taken the strong city of Bangalore, recalled that able officer to Madras, and intrusted the entire command—always, however, subject to the benumbing influence of their deputies—to Colonel Wood, who, in a very short time, was compelled to call in all the advanced forces, to abandon every place which had been taken, and to retreat before Hyder Ali. He even allowed himself to be surprised, beaten, and deprived of all his baggage. The presidency then discovered that Wood was not the man to conquer Mysore, and they superseded him by Major Fitzgerald, who arrived just in time to save the flying and confused army from annihilation. By the end of the year Hyder recovered every inch of territory he had lost; and in the month of January, 1769, carefully avoiding a battle, and marching rapidly by some of the less frequented ghauts or passes, he poured down

again into the Carnatic, laid waste the English provinces of Madura and Tinevelly, and penetrated into the district of Pondicherry, where the French flag was again flying, and where there were many Frenchmen indulging in the hope that time and fortune might restore their power in that part of India.

As the most dangerous enemy of the English, Hyder was regarded as the best friend of the French, and several adroit and experienced men quitted Pondicherry to join the Mysorean chief, and to give him the benefit of their advice. These Frenchmen confirmed him in the opinion he had already formed—that he ought to avoid pitched battles with the English, and make use of his advantage in rapid light cavalry to cut of their detachments, and plunder, burn, and destroy the country from which they and their nabob, Mohammed Ali, drew their supplies. Pursuing the scheme, Hyder surprised several English posts, took a considerable number of prisoners, whom he sent off to Seringapatam, where they were barbarously treated, and devastated all the country through which he passed. Having scarcely any cavalry, the English could neither come up with him nor intercept him: while they were wearing themselves out by forced marches on their own legs, his people on horses flitted from place to place, being seldom seen, and even seldom heard of, until they had plundered and burnt some town or village. The presidency of Madras, becoming sensible of some of their follies, now restored Colonel Smith to the command, and recalled the two deputies, who had long before arrived at the conviction that their proper place was not the camp or the field, but the council-chamber. They could not, however, improvise regiments of cavalry, and for want of that arm Smith's operations were for the most part impeded or frustrated. Smith did all that an able officer could do: he covered and protected several rich districts, he checked the career of many of the flying squadrons; but he could not move with sufficient rapidity to prevent the execution of a plan which Hyder had formed after paying two visits to Pondicherry, and conferring with

the French there. The Mysorean, having previously sent off all his plunder and heavy baggage, made a rush upon Madras with 6000 horse, and appeared, sudden and unexpected as a cloud in the Indian summer, upon the heights of St. Thomas, which overlook Madras. The presidency eagerly proposed terms of peace, or listened to terms proposed by Hyder, who was anxious to be well on his road homeward before Smith should draw near Madras. Negotiations were begun and finished in a very few hours. It was agreed that Hyder should restore whatever he had taken in the way of territory from the English, and that the English should restore all that they had taken from him; that he should assist the English in their future *defensive* wars, and that they should assist him, not in any offensive war, but in the defence of Mysore if it should be invaded by any of his neighbours. The treaty, concluded on the 4th of April, 1669, was soon followed by the invasion of Mysore by the Mahrattas, whose alliance with Hyder was as little binding and of as short a duration as Indian alliances usually were. The Peishwa, Madhoo Row, whose cavalry was as rapid as Hyder's and far more numerous, swept everything before him, and, burning towns, and cutting off noses and ears, this savage seemed to threaten Mysore with a far more extensive ruin than that which the Mysoreans had recently inflicted on the Carnatic. Hyder called upon the presidency of Madras for the assistance agreed upon in the late treaty; but the presidency—and apparently with perfect truth—affirmed that Hyder had brought the war upon himself by making preparations to invade the territory of the Peishwa, and by leaguing himself with some disaffected Mahratta chiefs; he was not, they said, engaged in a purely defensive war, and therefore they were not bound to send him aid and succour.

The Mahrattas and Mysoreans were left to fight out their own battles. Hyder and his son Tippoo were defeated in several encounters; once the father owed his life to the swiftness of his horse, and once the son saved himself by putting on the disguise of a beggar.

Seringapatam, their capital, was surrounded and besieged, but could scarcely be taken by an army of horse without battering cannon. In the month of November, 1771, the Mahrattas seemed in possession of all Mysore, except Seringapatam and some of the strongest forts, and were certainly pressing upon and plundering the frontiers of the Carnatic. The presidency sent an army towards the frontiers; and the Mahrattas, who had only entered upon the skirts of the Carnatic in small plundering squadrons, withdrew altogether from that neighbourhood.

Afraid of provoking the English to join Hyder, distressed by want of provisions in the country which he had ravaged, and now not unfrequently harassed or defeated by the Mysoreans, who had recovered heart, the Peishwa listened to the mediating voice of Mohammed Ali, accepted some money from him, and finally agreed to make peace with Hyder. For a time Hyder remained humbled and quiet. During the war between him and the Mahrattas the rajah of Tanjore attempted to seize some territory belonging to, or claimed by, Mohammed Ali, who called upon his allies, the English, for assistance and vengeance. Another war of invasion was the consequence. In the course of the year 1771 the company took the strong Tanjorean fortress of Vellum, and occupied two districts in the neighbourhood of Madura: in 1772 they conquered the two Marowars, and in 1773 they took by storm the often assailed city of Tanjore, which was then defended by 20,000 fighting men. The unfortunate rajah and his family were made prisoners, and the long-coveted sovereignty of Tanjore was *nominally* vested in Mohammed Ali, nabob of the Carnatic.

Shortly after Clive's return to England the affairs of the company attracted universal attention, and the territorial acquisitions made in India, being exaggerated even beyond their real extent and importance, were forced upon the serious consideration of the ministry of the day. In April, 1769, an act was passed confirming to the company the revenues of the countries they had

obtained in India for five years to come, upon consideration of their paying the British government 400,000*l.* per annum, and exporting to India certain quantities of British manufactures, &c. At the same time the court of directors resolved to send out to Calcutta three supervisors, to complete the work of reformation, and to put the revenues and finances of Bengal under better management. The three individuals selected were, Mr. Vansittart, who had so miserably misgoverned Bengal before; Mr. Scrafton, whose abilities and local knowledge and acquaintance with the language of the country were of inestimable value; and Colonel Forde, who had conquered the Northern Circars and disposed of the Dutch at Bedarra. They took their departure in the 'Aurora,' frigate, which is supposed to have foundered at sea with every soul on board, for she never reached Bengal, and was never heard of anywhere else after leaving the Cape of Good Hope.

Without supervisors, the government of Bengal was left in the hands of Mr. Cartier; but in less than two years it was notified by the court of directors to Mr. Warren Hastings, who had continued to rise in estimation, that he was nominated to the place of second in council at Calcutta; and that, as soon as Mr. Cartier should retire, it was their wish that he should take upon himself the charge of government till further orders. The transactions in India, which for a long period were regarded with indifference, or with the feeling that it was impossible for people in England to comprehend them, were now daily attracting more and more attention. Orme, the friend of Clive, who had himself taken no inactive or unimportant part in those affairs, had published the first part of his History of the Military Transactions in Hindustan, and had spread the renown of Clive, the real hero of the romantic story, making known at the same time the vastness and importance of that Indian world. Other works of less name had treated the same subject, and many pens and tongues had been engaged in demonstrating that the glory acquired by British arms was now tarnished by abuses and

corruption; and that the splendid fabric, like a Fata Morgana, was disappearing faster than it had risen. Moreover, few men, not holders of India stock, could reconcile themselves to the anomaly presented in Leadenhall Street, nor possibly conceive how a dozen or two of plain citizens called directors, and some hundreds of shareholders called proprietors, could be competent to the management of 15,000,000 of people at the distance of many thousands of miles. Nor was there much faith in the disinterestedness or moderation of a body so constituted, nor any confidence that their uncontrolled power could be exercised upon pure principles of right and wrong.

Indeed, in opening the session of parliament in January, 1772, the speech from the throne had, by implication, recommended to attention the subject of India, as being among the dependencies of the empire, of which it was said that "some of them, as well from remoteness of place as from other circumstances, are so peculiarly liable to abuses and exposed to danger, that the interposition of the legislature for their protection may become necessary." And about two months after this speech, and about four months before the first application of the directors to the Bank of England for money, Clive's old antagonist, Mr. Sulivan, then deputy-chairman of the court of directors, moved in his place in the House of Commons for leave to bring in a bill "for the better regulation of the affairs of the East India Company and of their servants in India, and for the due administration of justice in Bengal." Sulivan's principal object in the speech with which he introduced and supported this motion, was to shift all blame from the court of directors, and to throw it wholly and solely upon the servants of the company abroad. He did not spare the great Clive himself, but pointed at him more or less directly as the fountain-head of mischief. There was little danger in pursuing this course, as Sulivan well knew that the conqueror of Bengal was hated at the India House, was now unconnected with any of the powerful factions which divided parliament, was considered too proud and unbend-

ing to procure the support of the court and ministry, and was rendered by various arts and practices an object of popular odium and detestation. These practices had begun on the same day with his stern reforms at Calcutta, and they had been kept up ever since by many heads, hands, and purses.

Sulivan and his party, which had now become the stronger in Leadenhall Street, were alarmed and exasperated by reports, not unfounded, that the premier, Lord North, and Lord Rochford, then secretary of state for the colonies, had invited Clive, through his friend Wedderburn, to aid them with his counsel and experience in settling some plan for the better government of India; and it was no secret that Clive on all occasions insisted that the cause of what was wrong lay rather in the court of directors than in their servants abroad; that all attempts at reformation abroad, until a thorough reformation took place at home, could only be temporary, and in the end futile; that if an able, honest, and independent court of directors could not be procured at home, there was no salvation for the company.* Under these feelings the directors had recently put every engine in play to blacken his reputation; and about a fortnight before the opening of the present session of parliament they had, by the company's secretary, informed him that the court of directors had lately received several papers containing charges respecting his management of affairs in Bengal, and that copies of these papers were enclosed. These charges were signed by no one, and they were vague as well as anonymous. They, however, were known to the public before parliament met; and Sulivan, in his speech, hinted at them. Clive, who was in the House, rose to speak in his own defence, and he delivered a speech which astonished every one, by its strong sense, high spirit, and even high eloquence. He had seldom spoken before, and on those few occasions in a brief and homely, or negligent manner; but this time he had prepared himself for the defence of his honour

* Clive's Letters, in Life by Sir John Malcolm.

and his property, which were equally aimed at, and he convinced the most practised and most applauded speakers that he might easily have made himself a great orator. The first Pitt, now Earl Chatham, was that night under the gallery of the House of Commons, and he declared that it was "one of the most finished pieces of eloquence he had ever heard in that House."

One effect of this remarkable speech was that Clive's enemies changed their mode of attack, and, leaving his last administration in India as unassailable, turned their arms against the events and deeds of his earlier life. On the 13th of April it was represented by the Opposition that the suspicions of the country were excited, and that a full inquiry into the past ought to precede any legislation for the future; and a motion was made and carried for the appointing a select committee. Thirty-one in number were appointed by ballot, and Colonel Burgoyne, who had proposed it, was chosen chairman. Burgoyne, who was distinguishing himself as a debater, and giving that trouble to ministers which is said to have led to their employing him in America a few years after, was exceedingly hostile to Clive. Governor Johnstone, another leading orator in the House, and brother to Mr. Johnstone, a very corrupt member of council at Calcutta, whose face Clive had made pale and long, was also a member of the committee, and took a leading part in their proceedings.

There were other men in it almost equally hostile to Clive; but his lordship himself was a member, as was also his friend and dependant, Mr. Strachey, who had accompanied him in his last mission to Calcutta. The most violent personal feelings instantly showed themselves: instead of inquiring, in the words of Burgoyne's motion, into the nature, state, and condition of the East India Company, and of the British affairs in the East Indies generally, the select committee directed their inquiry almost exclusively to the conduct of Lord Clive, carefully shunning his last administration, and going back fifteen years to the dethronement of Suraj-u-Dowlah.

The parliament had hardly risen when the pecuniary embarrassments of the company became too great and pressing to be concealed. On the 17th of March, in their anxiety to captivate the shareholders, the court of directors had recommended an augmentation of the dividend from twelve to twelve and a half; and the necessary votes were carried through both courts by overwhelming majorities, and this, too, though many must have known there was not money enough in the treasury to meet the bills that were falling due. On the 15th of July the directors applied to the Bank of England for a loan of 400,000*l.* for two months, which was granted; and on the 29th of July they asked a further loan of 300,000*l.*, but only got 200,000*l.*, the bank directors being somewhat alarmed. On the 10th of August Mr. Sulivan and the chairman waited upon the minister, and announced the insolvency and ruin of the company as inevitable if they were not allowed to borrow at least a million more from the public.

It happened to them as to other men when reduced to the disagreeable condition of borrowers. Those from whom they asked money thought proper to give them advice, and to interfere in their affairs. They were in a manner at the mercy of ministers, and ministers soon determined to remodel their constitution. For the present, however, Lord North received the chairman and deputy-chairman with dryness and reserve, merely referring them to parliament for the aid and assistance they wanted.

The dissatisfied court of directors had no resource but in parliament; and, on the 24th of February (1773), after having reduced their dividend from 12½ to 6 per cent., a general court passed a vote that application should be made to the Commons for a loan of one million and a half for four years, at 4 per cent. interest. This demand, or humble petition, was presented on the 9th of March. Ministers, making some material alterations in the company's propositions, offered to lend 1,400,000*l.* at 4 per cent., and to give up the claim of 400,000*l.* a-year, which the company had been paying from their

territorial revenues, till this debt should be discharged; but insisted upon binding them strictly never to raise their dividends above six per cent., until this debt should be discharged. By complying with these and some other restrictions and conditions the company were to remain in possession of all the territories they had acquired for six years to come, when their charter would expire. The company petitioned against these terms, as harsh, arbitrary, and illegal; their orators in the House harangued vehemently: but all was of no use; they could not do without the money, the minister was determined to let them have it only on his own conditions, and everything he proposed was carried by a large majority. Nor did Lord North cease his interference here. Clive and others had represented to the minister, and also to the king, who was neither without previous information nor the previous determination or wish to un-democratize the constitution of the East India House, that the court of proprietors was a bear-garden ever full of noise, confusion, anarchy, and the lowest and most selfish intrigues, and that their mode of checking the court of directors, and the direct influence and intimidation they exercised over the directors when elected, must for ever prove an obstacle to all good and permanent management and government. As if to prepare his way by an act of kindness, the minister, on the 27th of April, granted the company that fatal leave to export tea to America duty free—a bonus which led to the tea riots at Boston, and which assuredly hurried on the American revolution—and then, on the 3rd of May, he introduced a series of propositions, tending to an entire, and, as we think, beneficial change in the constitution of the company. The principal of these were:—1st. That the court of directors should in future, instead of being chosen annually, be elected for four years; six members annually, but none to hold their seats for longer than four years; 2nd. That the qualification stock should be 1000*l.* instead of 500*l.*; that 3000*l.* should give two votes, and 6000*l.* three votes; 3rd. That, in lieu of the mayor's court at Calcutta, the jurisdiction of which was limited

to small mercantile causes, a Supreme Court of Judicature, consisting of a chief justice and three puisne judges, should be appointed by the crown, with great and extended powers of cognizance over the civil and criminal jurisdiction of the subjects of England, their servants and dependants, residing within the company's territories in Bengal; 4th. That a governor-general, with four counsellors, should be appointed to Fort William, and vested with full powers over the other presidencies. When any differences occurred, the opinion of the majority was to be decisive; and this board was to be directed by the act to transmit regular reports of its proceedings to the directors, who were, within fourteen days of the receipt of their despatches, to furnish copies of them to one of his majesty's secretaries of state, to whom they were also to send copies of any rules and ordinations which they made; and these were, if disapproved by his majesty, to become null and void. It was further proposed that the nomination of the first governor-general and members of council should be vested in parliament by the act, and should be for five years, after which the nomination to those high offices should revert to the court of directors, but still subject to the approbation of the crown. Lastly, it was to be enacted that no person in India, in the service either of the king or of the company, should henceforth be allowed to receive any presents from the native nabobs, rajahs, ministers, agents, or others; and that the governor-general, members of council, and judges should be excluded from all commercial pursuits and profits. The "Regulating Act," as it is called, was to come into operation, in England on the 1st of October, 1773, and in India on the 1st of August, 1774.

The court of directors, the court of proprietors, and nearly all men interested in the affairs of the East Indies raised a storm ten times louder than before; and they courted and obtained the influence of the corporation of the city of London, which was then in the most determined opposition to government, and to everything done or proposed by Lord North. Remonstrances and petitions

poured in upon parliament, but did not affect the votes of the large ministerial majority.

In proceeding to the choice of the first governor-general of Bengal there was scarcely any difference of opinion as to the person most fit for the responsible, delicate, and difficult post. Long experience, proved ability, and other merits, all pointed to Mr. Warren Hastings, who was accordingly named by the new parliamentary authority. Clive, though he had not invariably had cause to be pleased with the conduct of Hastings, once his protégé, considered him the best man that could be selected; and he hastened to congratulate him on the honour of being the FIRST GOVERNOR-GENERAL: in so doing, however, Clive expressed a doubt, in the shape of a hope, and this was, whether his colleagues in the council would act in harmony with him. It is especially deserving of observation that the principal misgiving Clive entertained with regard to Warren Hastings was, that he might err through overmuch good-nature and easiness and amiability of temper. The four members of council appointed with Warren Hastings, and each with powers nearly co-extensive with his own, were General Clavering, Colonel Monson, Mr. Barwell, and Mr. Philip Francis.

In the meanwhile, two Indian committees of the House of Commons, the "select" and the "secret," had continued their occupations; and the first of the two, urged on by Burgoyne, the chairman, by Governor Johnstone, and by other men from whom impartiality and candour were as little to be expected, had taken a still more inquisitorial and personal turn. Clive was subjected to incessant examinations and cross-examinations; mutilated evidence, taken out of the company's records by the company's own servants, was received as good evidence, upon the plea that it was impossible to spare time sufficient to search for facts among the vast mass of papers at the India House. The palms of the patriots sitting in either committee must have itched at the long array upon paper of rupees and lacs of rupees; and it may be pretty safely doubted whether there was one of Clive's accusers and

tormentors that would, at Moorshedabad, have rested satisfied with the large sum he took when it was so easy to make it larger, when there was absolutely no limit to his acquisitions but his own moderation. On one occasion, the scenes of the past were forced upon his mind and upon his vision as a present reality; he vividly described his entrance into Moorshedabad and into the rich treasury of the flying tyrant Suraj-u-Dowlah:—there was the new nabob, Meer Jaffier, a creature of his making, and absolutely dependent on his will; there was a populous and opulent city offering immense sums to be saved from a plunder which was never intended; there were the Hindu seits or bankers bidding against each other for his favour; there were vaults piled with gold and crowned with rubies and diamonds, and he was at liberty to help himself:—and then, bursting away from a picture as dazzling as Sinbad's valley of diamonds, he exclaimed, "By God, Mr. Chairman, at this moment I stand astonished at my own moderation!"

On the 10th of May of the following year, 1773, on the order of the day being read for taking into consideration the report of the select committee appointed in the preceding session, and also certain reports lately presented from a similar committee appointed in the present session, Colonel Burgoyne, who, as chairman, had brought them up, declared the said reports contained an account of the most atrocious and most revolting crimes. The Black Hole and its horrors were all forgotten; the cruelty, the perfidy of Suraj-u-Dowlah were consigned to the same charitable oblivion; and it was represented by the military orator, who had no friend or brother in the horrible catastrophe at Calcutta, that the dethronement of that prince was the greatest of crimes, and the real cause of all the revolutions and mischiefs which had ensued since then. He maintained that Clive ought to be stripped of his wealth, as it had been extorted by military force, and as, like all acquisitions made from foreign powers, it of right belonged to the state; and he moved three resolutions to this effect. Clive made another very able speech, but a speech not calculated to conciliate any

party. His were not the parliamentary tactics of a mean low mind, of one to whom truckling, duplicity, and deception cost nothing when they suited his interest and purpose. His friend Wedderburn, who was at issue with Thurlow, the attorney-general, but backed by the other great lawyers, made an eloquent and argumentative speech against Burgoyne's resolutions, representing that they were founded in envy and illiberality, narrow, pointed at individuals, and not at that future reformation of our management of Indian affairs which ought to have been the grand object of the committee's inquiry; and that, above all, the evidence on which some of the facts rested was indecisive and defective, and the conclusions drawn from other facts erroneous and unjust as far as concerned Lord Clive personally and without the council. Thurlow, who is said to have been previously consulted, and to have recommended the spoliatory process as a good means of making up part of the deficiencies in the Leadenhall Street treasury, replied as a lawyer to Wedderburn; and in the end Burgoyne's resolutions were carried without a division. Just one week after this—on the 17th of May,* 1773—Burgoyne followed up his successes by pointing his charges directly against Clive. He protested that he wished not to plunder or impoverish his lordship; yet nothing was so clear as that he must reduce him to poverty as well as disgrace, if he could command the majorities which had hitherto gone along with him. Thus the donation at Moorshedabad was to be annulled, thus the jaghire was to be made void! But it entered not into Burgoyne's law or morality, or into the notions of any of them, that the money and rents ought to be restored, or the right of the nabob to give them questioned.

Wedderburn again took an active part in the debate, strenuously opposing the motion on grounds both of law and equity. He said that the House was in danger of being led to commit rashly and inconsiderately an act of crying injustice against one of the most illustrious men

* The Parliamentary History says on the 19th.

of the age. He argued that the acceptance of presents by Clive was justifiable by the ancient laws and usages of India; that there was no law, order, or by-rule of the company prohibiting their servants from accepting them; and that to adopt the present resolution would be to condemn his lordship upon an *ex-post-facto* law. He treated the select committee with very little respect; said that the evidence they had gone upon was of the most unsatisfactory kind, that their report was necessarily a prejudiced one, and that for the House to proceed upon it would be an act of flagrant injustice. In the course of the debate Clive once more spoke for himself, and with the same uncompromising, unconciliating tone as on the previous occasions. He said, "After rendering my country the service which I think I may, without any degree of vanity, claim the merit of, and after having nearly exhausted a life full of employment for the public welfare and the particular benefit of the East India Company, I little thought that such transactions would have agitated the minds of my countrymen in proceedings like the present, tending to deprive me not only of my property, and the fortune which I have fairly acquired, but of that which I hold more dear to me—my honour and reputation." He observed that, trained in the school of war and politics as he had been for twenty years, he was now improving in the school of philosophy, and, if patience was a virtue, he had no doubt of soon being very virtuous indeed. But in reality this long-enduring patience was foreign to his nature, and was incompatible with his present state of bodily suffering. Always quick and susceptible, he had become morbidly sensitive and irritable, from the continuance of mental torture and bodily disease, in reciprocal action and reaction. The insults he had received from the select committee had gone through him like an Indian arrow, and as he spoke he seemed to show the barb with the poison and his heart's blood upon it. "I have served my country," said he, "and the company faithfully; and, had it been my fortune to be employed by the crown, I should not have been in the situation I am in at present; I should have been

differently rewarded: no retrospect would have been had to sixteen years past, and I should not have been forced to plead for what is dearer than life—my reputation.... The two committees seem to have beat the whole of their inquiries to the conduct of their humble servant the Baron of Plassey, and I have been examined by the select committee more like a sheep-stealer than a member of this House." After some debate, further consideration of the motion was deferred till Friday, the 21st of May. On that day the active Burgoyne moved that certain witnesses should then be examined. The examination was ordered, and Clive's own evidence before the committee was read; upon which his lordship said a few words; concluding with—"Take my fortune, but save my honour,"—and then retired from the House. Burgoyne's triumphant course stopped here: the House would not follow him from generalities to special facts, and to individuals; would not, upon loose and defective, and for the most part *ex-parte* evidence, find a distinguished man guilty, and then apply to him an *ex-post-facto* law. There was a spontaneous reaction in favour of Clive, a reaction apparently not explicable by any of the then ordinary rules of parliamentary management and manœuvre. After a variety of inconclusive motions and rapid divisions, it was moved by Wedderburn—"That Robert Lord Clive did, at the same time, render great and meritorious services to this country," and this passed in the affirmative. And thus terminated all these proceedings as far as Clive was concerned.

But "the be all and the end all" was not there, nor could depend any farther on resolutions, motions, and votes. "The Daring in War" had received his death-blow from orators' tongues; or, at the least, his mind and body had been so harassed for many months, and his cruel maladies so exacerbated, that there no longer remained a gleam of health, or hope, or cheerfulness. He had been acquitted—he had been applauded; some of the highest in the land and some of the most liberal and intellectual abroad—men like Voltaire, who had the right of genius to be

the dispensers of fame—testified their admiration, and admired him the more for the ordeal he had gone through; but he could not take these flattering unctions to his soul; he brooded over the indignity of having been accused, charged in the eyes of the whole world, not only with horrible crimes, but with mean, petty vices, most hateful and maddening to his pride. His liver was entirely deranged, his attacks of bile were frequent and dreadful; he suffered the excruciating agonies of gall-stones, and he had long had recourse to the dangerous aid of opium, which in many cases maddens or depresses in the morning more than it soothes or exhilarates at night. In the month of November of the year which followed his acquittal by the Commons (1774), being at his splendid town-mansion in Berkeley Square, he had a violent access of his most painful malady. On the 21st and 22nd he endured extreme agony, and had recourse for relief to additionally powerful doses of laudanum: the drug did not soothe, and a paroxysm of irritability and impatience was added to the paroxysm of the disease; in the course of the 22nd he died by his own hand. He had only just completed his forty-ninth year.

Warren Hastings, who extended and consolidated the empire which Clive had called into existence, and whose Indian career ended in a prosecution more famous and more formal than that to which his lordship was subjected, began his administration at Calcutta under every possible disadvantage. A famine occurred in 1770, under the government of Mr. Cartier, and only a few months before Hastings succeeded him. It was a tremendous visitation; the natives, and above all the Hindu portion of them, who, on religious grounds, make little or no use of animal food, perished by hundreds and thousands, and it was calculated that, in all, from one-fourth to one-third of the teeming population of Bengal was swept away. In the summer of 1769 the rains had failed; hence the earth was parched up, the tanks for the purposes of irrigation became empty, and the rivers shrank within their beds. The same natural causes had always been attended by the same dreadful consequences,

and wide-wasting dearths were frequent in India long before Vasco de Gama doubled the Cape or the name of the English was known. But natural causes did not satisfy the popular mind in England, where it was rumoured that the company's servants had created the famine by buying up all the rice of the country, and by refusing to sell it except at ten or twelve times the price at which they had bought it. A short time before the breaking out of the famine Syef-al-Dowlah, the son and successor of Meer Jaffier, died of small-pox; and his brother, Muharek-al-Dowlah, a boy, was appointed to the musnud. Not a few had been inclined to apply to Syef the process of rapid curtailment and reduction which Regan applies to the household of old King Lear; and it appears to have been pretty generally thought that too much money was wasted upon a merely nominal nabob, a puppet, a man of straw—for so had Syef-al-Dowlah been designated by a leading member in the Calcutta government. But as soon as the magnates in Leadenhall Street knew that Syef was dead, they sent out orders for making retrenchments on the allowance of his young brother. It fell to Mr. Hastings to carry these orders into execution, and he was afterwards censured and condemned as if the acts had originated with himself. The saving made, however much it may have improved the morals of the young nabob's court, had no visible effect on the treasury at Calcutta; and Hastings was left to struggle through all the perplexities and cares resulting from an empty exchequer and a daily increasing debt, while every ship, every despatch from his masters, brought demands for money—money—money. Other and much more questionable instructions were sent out by the directors, and were carried into effect by Hastings—at times sorely against his conviction and will. Yet his obedience to orders was afterwards imputed to him as a crime, and the very body who had sent him his orders and had profited by their execution, appeared among his accusers and prosecutors.

Clive, in his treaty with the Emperor Shah Alum, had guaranteed to that poor and forlorn potentate the quiet

possession of Corah and Allahabad, and the annual tribute or stipend from the company of twenty-six lacs of rupees—about 260,000*l.* sterling. In the profundity of their own debts and embarrassments the court of directors and the court of proprietors at home, and the impoverished people of Bengal abroad, had long grudged this money. It appears that the lacs were at no time very punctually paid, and that for considerably more than two years payment had been withheld altogether. Hastings had good reasons to plead for stopping the stipend, though it unfortunately happened that the cases were not specified or provided for in Clive's treaty, or, as it is usually called, the Treaty of Allahabad. In spite of the disapprobation of the government of Calcutta, Shah Alum had thrown himself into the arms of the Mahrattas; and, quitting his territories of Allahabad and Corah, the only possessions he had, and which he owed entirely to the English, he, in the beginning of the year 1771, took the field with a mixed but numerous army. It is said that he was secretly encouraged by Sujah Dowlah, vizier and nabob of Oude, who wished to be free of his presence, in order to recover possession of Corah and Allahabad, which had formerly belonged to Oude, and which, he calculated, might be restored to his dominion with permission of the English, and upon a pecuniary bargain with them. By the end of the year 1771 the Mahratta chiefs carried the poor mogul in triumph into Delhi; but, though in the palace of Aurungzebe, Shah Alum found that he was a mere state-prisoner, compelled to do whatever the turbulent chiefs required of him. He was soon hurried into the field by these Mahrattas, who were eager for the plunder, if not for the permanent possession of Rohilcund, a country which was equally coveted by the nabob of Oude, who had for some time kept his eye upon it in the hope of obtaining it by the assistance of English troops or English-trained sepoys. The Rohillas, however, found themselves obliged to apply for the insidious aid of this vizier-nabob; and they obtained his promise not only to assist them himself, but also to procure for them the more potent co-operation of the company. At the

same time he intimated to Sir Robert Barker, the general commanding the company's forces, and to the governor and council at Calcutta, that to allow any stipend or tribute to the mogul would be only sending money to the rapacious and turbulent Mahrattas, who were deadly enemies to him, the close ally to the English, and who were, or soon would be, the most powerful enemies of the company itself. But long before this intimation, and apparently before Shah Alum marched away from Allahabad with the Mahrattas, the payment of the tribute had been suspended, upon the cogent plea that the trade and revenue of the English provinces suffered a visible decay by this annual diminution of their specie.* But if this had been held sufficient cause to suspend the mogul's allowance, his departure with the Mahrattas was considered as a throwing up on his part of all right or claim to English money and English protection, and the strong arguments of the nabob of Oude had no doubt presented themselves to the mind of Hastings before he received that nabob's letters and messages.

It was perfectly clear that twenty-six lacs of rupees per annum was too great a price to pay for the merely ceremonial investiture of the company in the dewannee of Bengal, over which neither the reigning mogul nor his predecessor had ever had the least control; and the state of mutual obligations between Shah Alum and the English appears to be not unfairly described by Hastings, who taxes the mogul with the basest treachery and ingratitude, and says, "Of all the powers of Hundustan the English alone had really acknowledged his authority; they invested him with the royalty he now possesses; they conquered for him and gave him a territory; they paid him an annual tribute, the only pledge of fealty which he has ever received."† The territory here spoken of was Allahabad and Corah; and shortly after Hastings learned that the helpless mogul had ceded both Corah and Allahabad to the Mahrattas,

* Letter from Hastings to Sir George Colebrooke in Gleig's 'Memoirs of Warren Hastings.'

† Ibid.

who were declaring their intention of taking immediate possession. This was considered as equivalent to a complete discharge from all the obligations of Clive's treaty. Moreover the nabob of Oude, as the faithful ally of the English, claimed their assistance in preventing the Mahrattas from obtaining a settlement in provinces that lay in the heart of his own country, and that would bring them close upon the frontiers of the company's territories. The English at once threw a garrison into Allahabad, where the mogul's deputy or governer received them with a welcome, declaring that his master was no longer a free agent, but a prisoner to the Mahratta chiefs, who were in the habit of subjecting him even to the degradation of blows and other personal chastisement when he hesitated to sign such grants, firmans, or decrees as they required. Hastings, who was most anxious for the preservation of peace, as the only possible means of restoring the prosperity and trade of Bengal, would gladly have stopped here, and for some time he was deaf to the prayers and representations of Sujah Dowlah, who continued to believe that the Mahrattas, after subduing the Rohillas, would overrun the whole of Oude, and then, descending the Ganges, spread havoc over Bahar and Bengal. As a little episode, however, Hastings sent a detachment, under Captain Jones, to drive the Bootans, a resolute and daring people, out of Cooch-Bahar, and to annex that healthy and fertile province to the company's dominions, to which, geographically considered, it belonged. At the same time the attention of the governor was called to the inroads and devastations of the Senassie fakeers, an assemblage of men who united the several characters of saints, living martyrs, jugglers, robbers, and cut-throats, which, according to Indian notions and superstitions, were not irreconcilable. Tribes and hordes of the same species had long been in the habit of wandering throughout India, almost naked, pretending to live by alms, but stealing, plundering, murdering, and committing every act of obscenity and violence. A host of this kind, headed by an old woman who pretended to the gift of

enchantment, had defeated an army of Aurungzebe, and caused that emperor, when at the height of his power, to tremble on his throne at Delhi. They were not the least of the many scourges and curses to which the country was periodically liable under the weak and divided empire, and imbecile government of the native princes. The present swarm fell upon Bengal, rapidly and silently, like a flight of locusts. They rushed in search of their prey in bodies each two or three thousand strong, and wherever they penetrated they burned and destroyed the villages, and committed every abomination. Hastings hurried on detachment after detachment to follow the track which the fakeers usually took on their return. Yet, after every possible exertion by all these corps, no great execution could be done upon the marauders, who, crossing rivers and mountains, got back to the wild country that lies between India, Tibet, and China.

Soon after the departure of the fakeers, Hastings set out on a visit to Oude; for various circumstances had induced him to change or modify his pacific policy, and to give a more ready ear to the prayers, plans, and suggestions of the ambitious nabob of that country, who now earnestly solicited a personal conference at Benares, in order to arrange new bargains and treaties with the English.

The Mahrattas, too, were really making war upon the Rohillas, the allies of Oude; and a considerable part of the English army, under Sir Robert Barker, had marched into Rohilcund, where they found the Mahrattas more inclined to retreat than to fight, and the Rohillas more disposed to regard the English or the troops of the nabob of Oude as enemies than as friends. And, in fact, the sovereign of Oude had conceived, and had some time before this communicated to the English governor at Calcutta, a plan of conquering the Rohilla country and annexing it to his dominions: and the correspondence upon this subject, more than anything else, had induced the proposal of an interview. Hastings left Calcutta on the 24th of June, and arrived

at Benares on the 19th of August, 1773. He found the vizier-nabob waiting his arrival, and eager for business.

The troops of Oude had been of little service, but the troops of the company had cleared the country of the Mahrattas; and yet the Rohilla chiefs, though bound by a solemn treaty with the vizier-nabob, refused to pay the forty lacs of rupees or any part of them. The Rohillas had always been turbulent and dangerous neighbours to Oude, and must keep the nabob poor and in constant need of English assistance, unless those powerful allies, by one great effort, for which he was willing to pay a liberal price—and he knew how much the company wanted money—should conquer that Afghan race, who were themselves but conquerors of a recent date, without any right but that of the sword, and without any consideration or mercy for the original and peaceful occupants of the soil, who were still tenfold more numerous than themselves. Hastings ingeniously compared Rohilcund to Scotland before the union with England; but the Scots were one race thinly scattered over a poor country which had no other inhabitants, while the Rohillas were scattered over a rich country peopled by a different race, who regarded them as intruders and harsh task-masters, and heartily wished for their expulsion. Upon all these, and other considerations, Hastings consented to employ an army against the Rohillas, and to unite the country to Oude, the vizier-nabob engaging to pay the entire expenses of the army, according to a liberal scale fixed by the English themselves, and to pour into the empty treasury at Calcutta forty lacs of rupees.

When the meeting at Benares broke up, Sujah Dowlah proceeded to reduce some forts and districts in his neighbourhood that were still held by the Mahrattas, and Hastings returned to Calcutta rejoicing in the money he had made, and in the money he had saved. Hastings now applied himself to the internal administration of Bengal — to the establishment of something like an efficient police, to the posting detachments so as to

prevent the incursions of the fakeers and other marauders, to the formation of local courts in the districts, to the regulation of taxes and of the collection of the revenue—a tremendous task!—to the protection of native trade and industry; to the removing absurd regulations and impolitic taxes, duties, and fees upon native marriages;* to the suppression of peculation and rapacity in the company's servants up the country or in remote districts; and to other cares and occupations almost innumerable. Some of the means adopted may not have been of the purest or highest kind, several may not be reconcilable either with our modern notions of political economy, or of morals and of justice, some may have been *pro tempore* expedients; but the present end attained was most indisputably a great benefit, and a wonderful improvement on the immediately preceding state of things. Even those who were no encomiasts of Warren Hastings confessed that since his return to Calcutta as governor of Bengal (in 1771), the whole country had assumed or was rapidly assuming a different aspect. The fearful gaps made in the population by famine and disease, began to be filled up by the removal of the impolitic checks upon marriage, by the improved condition and more abundant food of the natives, and by the frequent immigrations of quiet laborious people from other parts of India, who sought and found that protection and encouragement under the government of Hastings which they could find scarcely anywhere else in a country kept almost in a constant state of anarchy and misery by revolutions, petty feuds, and the ravages of flying Mahratta hordes, or of hordes of a still more de-

* In allusion to this and some other reforms he says—"Of my foreign policy I have no cause to be ashamed; but that on which I chiefly congratulate myself is the abrogation of laws and usages oppressive to the people, and of one most destructive to population, which, though requiring little more than the stroke of a pen to remove it, I particularly mention, because, though little known, and perhaps forgotten, it is one to which my mind ever recurs with self-satisfaction—the abolition of the duties and fees on marriage."

structive and murderous description — Afghans, Jaats, Decoits, Thugs, Beels, and others of that long array of monstrosity which gives to the authentic story of Hindustan the appearance of fable or of a horrid dream. With rajahs and nabobs, with khans and other grandees, the case may have been somewhat different; but the native merchant, manufacturer, weaver, tiller of the soil, artisan, all that we call people, throughout the wide extent of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, were brought to consider Hastings as a benefactor, and to revere his name.

It was probably to this period he alluded when he said in private conversation many years after, when nearly all England was accusing him of monstrous cruelty and oppression—"I could have gone from Calcutta to Moorshedabad, and from Moorshedabad to Patna and Benares, without a guard, without a sepoy, without any protection but what was to be found in the goodwill and affection of the natives."

Encouraged by some successes he had obtained over the Mahrattas, and by a new league he had struck up with Shah Alum, who had escaped from his Mahratta bondage, and had actually engaged to assist the nabob with his small army in the reduction of Rohilcund, Sujah Dowlah applied eagerly for the instant marching of the English brigade which was quartered at Allahabad. Though the 210,000 rupees per month were acceptable, the suddenness of this application rather disconcerted Hastings. No time, however, was lost; and the brigade, under the command of Colonel Champion, received orders to march into the province of Oude, with the declared purpose of invading the Rohilla country. From the middle of February till the middle of April the brigade remained in Oude doing nothing; but then the vizier-nabob with his forces joined Colonel Champion, and the open southern frontier of Rohilcund was immediately crossed. The Rohilla chiefs took up a good position on the side of Babul Nulla: nearly their entire force, which probably amounted to about 25,900 fighting men, was collected on that spot; and they had cavalry,

artillery, and rockets. But when they were attacked by the British brigade, on the morning of the 23rd of April, superior discipline and tactics, and better arms, led to the usual result. They were thoroughly defeated and routed; but their valour and stamina were proved by their fighting at unusually close quarters for two hours and twenty minutes, and leaving 2000 of their number on the field before they broke and fled. Several of their sirdars, or chiefs, were slain, and among them Hafez Ramet, the head of the confederacy. Fyzoola Khan collected the greater part of the dispossessed, fugitive Rohillas, and took up a very strong post near the frontiers of the country, expecting to be joined by other tribes of the great Afghan family, to which he and his Rohillas belonged. It was also apprehended by Sujah Dowlah that the Mahrattas would come down also; and his fears induced him to open negotiations with Fyzoola Khan. This turn of affairs was promoted by the temper of the English troops, who, disgusted with their ally and all his concerns, dispirited by long marches, short commons, and the total absence of prize-money and of any chance of it, were not very anxious to attack a bold enemy, in a formidable position among rocks and hills, and defended by trenches, stockades, and other works. A treaty was, therefore, hurried to a conclusion, Fyzoola Khan surrendering one-half of all his effects to the nabob of Oude, and that nabob granting him a jaghire in Rohilcund. Some few chiefs remained on the frontiers with Fyzoola Khan; but the large majority, with their vassals or followers, went into other countries to seek new settlements with sword and spear. The Afghan race might almost be said to be rooted out of Rohilcund. Their entire number probably never exceeded 80,000, counting all classes, and men, women, and children. The Hindu population that now remained under the rule of the nabob of Oude was estimated at 2,000,000.

Just as the first Rohilla war came to this conclusion, the new constitution, as framed by parliament, commenced its operation. General Clavering, Mr. Monson,

and Mr. Philip Francis arrived at Calcutta (Mr. Barwell, the fourth member, had been in India long before) on the 19th of October, 1774. On the following day the existing government was dissolved by proclamation, and the new council, consisting of the four gentlemen named, and Hastings with the rank of governor-general of Bengal, took possession of its powers. Of his four colleagues not one seemed very acceptable to Hastings. Three seemed to have come with the predetermination of opposing him in all things, and one of the three—Francis—hated him from the beginning with an intensity of which few English natures are capable. But among the judges who had arrived with the members of this new council, Sir Elijah Impey, the senior in rank, was an old and dear friend of the governor-general. They had been school-fellows at Westminster.

The general letter of the Court of Directors, which was read at the first meeting of the new council, recommended above all things unanimity and concord among those to whom the powers of the government were delegated. That unanimity was incompatible with a body so constituted, and with tempers, interests, and views so diametrically opposed. The temper of Francis alone was enough to introduce discord into a paradise—and Calcutta was far from being any such sojourn of beatified, peaceful spirits. Besides, he, and Clavering, and Monson, who had never been in India before, had come out to detect and reform abuses, which the long local knowledge of Hastings and Barwell viewed in a different light, or with a better acquaintance with the primary causes of them, and the difficulty of making any sudden change. Correctors of abuses and reformers, particularly when deficient in information, find more abuses than really exist; and no class of men are more intolerant.

Francis, Clavering, and Monson began to assert, by implication, that Hastings had embarked in an unnecessary and unjustifiable war—the war with the Rohillas—for private and sordid motives; and that his whole connection with Sujah Dowlah had been a series of bad actions, fraud, and selfishness.

As far as money was concerned, these aspersions were unjust to the utmost extent of injustice: Hastings was actually a poorer man now than when he quitted his inferior employment at Madras in 1771! He had made savings and gathered large contributions, and perhaps neither the economy nor the gain had proceeded upon strict principles of justice; but he had made them solely for the company's benefit, and mostly at the company's express command. He was above the motives imputed to him: he was, as many other men have been, and are, constitutionally indifferent to money, for himself. As Francis—we must put this name first, as he was ever the most active and by far the most able of the trio,—Clavering, and Monson constituted the majority of the council, they assumed all the powers of government, and for a time reduced Hastings, with his adherent Barwell, to the condition of a cipher. Of course they soon turned the government into an anarchy. One long-continued cause of quarrel was the Rohilla war. The majority declared that war to be monstrous, and the dispossessed and tyrannical tribes to be a brave but meek and inoffensive people, who had particular claims on the sympathies of generous minds. The Rohillas were what we have described them; and to their qualities remain to be added those of craft and treachery in a degree excessive even for India, and a bloodthirstiness like that of famishing tigers. But, though the war was to be reprobated and the Rohillas pitied,* though Champion and his brigade were to be instantly ordered to evacuate Rohilcund, the price of the war was to be poured into the company's exchequer, the Nabob of Oude was to be made to pay to the last rupee of what he had promised, and he was to be threatened and bullied into earlier payments than he had stipulated for. Thus, if they considered the war as diabolical work, they could still love the devil's money. In vain Hastings and Barwell remonstrated and protested; they were but two to three, and the determinations of Francis and

* The real objects of pity in Rohilcund were rather the poor Hindus than the Rohillas.

his colleagues were carried forthwith into execution. Their behaviour vexed and terrified Sujah Dowlah, and may have contributed to hasten his departure from the cares of this world, for he died a few months after their arrival, at the very beginning of the year 1775, dictating in his last moments a letter to Hastings to implore his friendship and protection for his son.

This son, who took the name of Asoff-ul-Dowla, succeeded without opposition to Oude and its dependencies, which now included the country of the Rohillas. The majority in council were as hard towards the son as they had been towards the father: they called upon him for prompt payment of all that was owing, and at the same time they declared that their treaty was dissolved by the death of the old nabob. Mr. Middleton had been succeeded at the court of Oude by Mr. Bristow, who took his orders from, and acted entirely in the spirit of, Francis, Clavering, and Monson. Bristow compelled the young nabob to accede to a treaty which contained, as an essential article, an incomparably more questionable arrangement than Hastings's engagement for the expulsion of the Rohillas. By this treaty the company guaranteed to Asoff-ul-Dowla the possession of Corah and Allahabad; but the nabob, in return, *ceded to the emperor the territory of Cheyte Sing, the Rajah of Benares, which was not his to cede, and which had been solemnly guaranteed to the rajah by Hastings.* The revenue of Cheyte Sing's territory thus alienated was estimated at 22,000,000 of rupees; but as this took nothing out of the pocket of the young Nabob of Oude, he was bound in the same treaty to discharge all his father's debts and engagements whatsoever with the company, and to raise greatly the allowance to the company's brigade. Hastings indignantly refused to sanction this treaty, which nevertheless met the warm approbation of the Court of Directors at home.

The Supreme Council, as provided by the act, asserted their authority over the other presidencies, and required from each of them a full report of its actual condition, political, financial, and commercial. The political status

of the presidency of Bombay, which had long been so quiet and removed from the struggle of war, was at this moment as troublesome as war and politics could make it, for the council there had entered upon the stormy and incomprehensible sea of Mahratta politics. The first temptation had been Salsette, that rich island that lay in their immediate neighbourhood, and that had been coveted for more than a hundred years by the English at Bombay. The directors at home had fully partaken in this desire, and, in 1769, had greatly applauded an attempt made to obtain Salsette by negotiation with the Mahrattas. In 1773, after various other attempts had failed, advantage was taken of the confusion and civil war which ensued on the assassination of Narrain Row and the election of a new peishwa: the presidency of Bombay despatched a considerable force to Salsette, which carried the principal fort by assault, and then took quiet possession of the island. To secure this valuable possession, and to obtain future advantages and cessions of territory in the neighbourhood of Surat, the presidency concluded a treaty with Ragoba, whom, for the occasion, they chose to consider legitimate Peishwa of the Mahrattas, who were themselves much divided in opinion whether the right or the might lay with Ragoba, or Futtee-Sing or Row, and who were cutting one another's throats to decide the question. Ragoba, who counted upon English troops and sepoys as certain to give him the superiority, made a grant of Salsette, Bassein, and other places; and the presidency sent Colonel Keating with 500 European infantry, 60 European artillerymen, 1400 sepoys, and 160 lascars, with a field-train and some heavier pieces, to assist Ragoba, who had himself a large army of horse. On the 18th of May, 1775, Keating, on the plain of Arras, repulsed the attack of one of the Mahratta confederacies hostile to Ragoba; but he lost a considerable number of men, and found his future movements impeded by the discontents of the peishwa's troops, who refused to cross the Nerbuddah until they should be paid their arrears. But in the month of July, when Ragoba had got money and had weakened the hostile confederacy

by detaching some of its most powerful members, the road to Poona, which was a kind of Mahratta capital, seemed open to him and his English allies. At this point the supreme council at Calcutta judged it proper to strike in; and they did so with the same temper they had displayed on other occasions. They rated the members of the council of Bombay as if they had been a set of clerks or schoolboys; they called them to account for daring to enter upon such important negotiations and operations without their consent and sanction; they ordered them instantly to withdraw their troops and to recall their resident from Poona; and after this they sent an agent of their own to undertake treaties and pursue a line of policy the very opposite to that hitherto pursued. Colonel Upton, this new agent, did not reach Poona till the end of the year 1775. His instructions were to treat with the chiefs of the Mahratta confederacy, which the supreme council considered as likely to be the stronger party in the end; but he was also furnished with a letter from the council to Ragoba, in case he should prove the stronger. If the confederacy prevailed the letter might be burned; but if they should be defeated then it would serve as an introduction to negotiation with Ragoba. Such was the straightforward policy of Philip Francis, for Francis led Clavering and Monson hoodwinked. But Upton had been only a few days at Poona ere he found that the Mahrattas were much in the same uncertain state of mind as the supreme council. "For," said he, "the chiefs of this country are quite at a loss which side to take, and are waiting to see what the English will do."* The pertinacity of the Mahratta chiefs confederated against Ragoba, in insisting on the immediate restoration of Salsette, Bassein, and all that had been acquired by the recent treaty with Ragoba, removed the doubts and vacillations of the supreme council; who finally determined that the peishwa recognized by the presidency of Bombay was to be recognized by them also as the rightful sovereign, and that the

* Letter to the council, as quoted by Mill, Hist. Brit. Ind.

cause of Ragoba was to be supported "with the utmost vigour, and with a general exertion of the whole power of the English arms in India." But Ragoba gained nothing by this high-sounding resolution. His enemies jockeyed him when he thought himself close to the winning-post. Seeing that they would not be satisfied with less, the confederates agreed to yield Salsette and the small islands near it; upon which the majority of the supreme council agreed to abandon the cause of Ragoba and give up their claims to Bassein and the other territory which the lawful *then* and unlawful *now* peishwa had given to the presidency of Bombay as part of the price of their assistance. A treaty to this effect was concluded by Colonel Upton.

While these events were passing in Western India, other hosts of Mahrattas descended into the valley of the Ganges from Agra and Delhi, and plundered the more northern parts of the dominions of the young nabob of Oude, who is described as being as great a coward as his father, and destitute of ability, which his father was not. These devastations, which went to stop the current of supplies to a treasury which the supreme council had emptied, were accompanied by rumours of a new coalition between the emperor, the Mahrattas, the Seiks, the Rohillas, and other Afghan tribes, for the purpose of conquering the whole of Oude. The plans adopted by the supreme council to break or resist this league were not very wise or consistent; and Asoff-ul-Dowla owed his safety for the present to quarrels which broke out among the members of the coalition, and to the poverty and indecision of Shah Alum. But for various other accidents, this incompetent, self-seeking trio would have lost all that Clive and Hastings had won in India. In all consultations in council the voice the least heeded was that of the governor-general. The hostile majority continued to heap accusations against him. "These men," said he, "began their opposition on the second day of our meeting. The symptoms of it betrayed themselves on the very first. They condemned me before they ·ld have read any part of the proceedings, and all the

study of the public records since, all the informations they have raked up out of the dirt of Calcutta, and the encouragement given to the greatest villains in the province, are for the purpose of finding grounds to vilify my character and undo all the labours of my government." Francis, Clavering, and Monson had got hold of the great informer or arch-devil of Bengal, the notorious Nuncomar, and were now inciting him to collect evidence and bring charges against Hastings.

But on the 25th of September, 1776, the majority was reduced to an equality by the death of Colonel Monson. There thus remained only two on either side; but the casting vote of the governor-general gave him the superiority. "It has restored me the constitutional authority of my station," he wrote the very next day to the minister; "but without absolute necessity I shall not think it proper to use it with that effect which I should give it were I sure of support from home." It appears, however, that he at once used his re-acquired authority with boldness and effect, deciding all measures by his casting vote, and leaving Clavering and Francis to declaim and protest, as they had recently left him to do.

Colonel Monson's place in the council was soon supplied by Mr. Wheler, who commonly voted with Francis; but before that party could recover their confidence, it was again reduced to a minority by the loss of General Clavering.

It was high time that there should be more unanimity, for danger was approaching on various sides. Most of the Mahratta chiefs who had been parties to the treaty with Colonel Upton were already weary of their bargain; fresh intrigues and combinations were forming at Poona, and a French ship had put into one of the Mahratta ports, and a French agent was reported to be living at Poona and exercising great influence in that capital. The war in our American colonies was raging, and, as Frenchmen of name and rank were taking part in it without any declaration of war from the Court of Versailles to the Court of St. James's, it was not imagined that the French would be very scrupulous in India,

where in fact they had never once ceased their intrigues since the treaty of Paris had restored Pondicherry and allowed them their factory at Chandernagore. Besides, every letter from England complained of the interference of France in the American quarrel, and announced hostilities with that power as inevitable. The presidency of Bombay, who were nearest to the scene of Mahratta intrigue, and likely to be most affected by it, wrote alarming letters to the supreme council at Calcutta, and recommended a new alliance with Ragoba, in order to anticipate the designs of the French and the Mahratta chiefs. They were eager for the recovery of Bassein and the other territory which had been given up by Colonel Upton; and their last advices informed them that the Court of Directors disapproved *in toto* of that treaty, and thought that much more advantageous terms, *i. e.* more territory and more revenue, might have been secured by supporting Ragoba. Hastings, too, disapproved that treaty—the work of Clavering, Monson, and Francis—which he would have prevented at the time if he had been able. The Mahrattas had scarcely performed one article of it when the Chevalier de St. Lubin arrived at Poona with letters and presents from Louis XVI. The governor-general, who had long been accustomed to reflect on the best means the English possessed of defending their Indian empire, and the most likely means the French had for recovering their ascendancy, had come to the conclusion that our greatest danger would proceed from a union of the French with the Mahrattas, and that any attempt of that kind ought to be met on the instant, and, if possible, prevented by arms, leagues, combinations, and by the utmost exercise of our power and policy. At this critical juncture he received intelligence that there was a fresh quarrel among the Mahratta chiefs at Poona, who constituted a sort of regency; and that a powerful faction, headed by Baboo, had resolved to declare for Ragoba, and had actually applied to the English at Bombay for assistance. It appeared also that the presidency of Bombay had committed itself to this party by promises or encouragements, and

that its territories would be in danger if the faction opposed to Baboo and Ragoba should prevail in this new contest. Without hesitation Hastings proposed in council that every assistance should be given in men and money, and that an army should be sent from Calcutta to Bombay. He was supported by Barwell, and opposed by Francis and Wheler, who protested as usual; but, as usual, the governor-general's casting vote settled the matter. Ten lacs of rupees were immediately sent to Bombay by bills; and on the 23rd of February orders were issued for assembling an army at Culpee, on the east bank of the Hooghly river, and about thirty-three miles in a straight line below Calcutta. There then arose a fresh dispute in council as to the properest way of sending these troops on their long journey: if they went by sea, they would have to go round nearly the whole of the immense peninsula of India, and it was not the proper season for such a voyage, nor were there transports to carry the troops or ships of war to give them convoy: to make such a march by land was a bold idea that had not yet presented itself to the mind of any Anglo-Indian, soldier or statesman; but Hastings, who had studied the capabilities of the native troops, who had a high reliance on their steadiness and powers of endurance, and who had long wished for an opportunity to show the might of the company to some of the princes and potentates of the interior, who, from the remoteness of their situation, had hitherto remained strangers to it, or but very insufficiently informed upon it, after consulting with some officers, confidently proposed the land march right across the peninsula—a peninsula vast enough to be called a continent—through the hostile and unknown regions that intervened between the banks of the Ganges and the Gulf of Cambay.*

The army was composed of six native battalions, a corps of native cavalry, furnished by the Nabob of Oude,

* Captain Williams of the Bengal army, 'Historical Account of the Rise and Progress of the Bengal Native Infantry, from its first formation in 1757 to 1796.'

and a company of native artillery, altogether amounting to 103 European officers, 6624 native troops, with 31,000 followers, including the bazar, carriers of baggage, servants of officers, and families of sepoys; and this host had to march upwards of 1000 miles through countries where nearly every kind of obstacle had to be overcome. The command was intrusted to Colonel Leslie, who did not prove worthy of executing so daring and brilliant a conception. Except the officers, there were no British or Europeans of any other nation. The army began its march on the 12th of June, 1778; and it had not proceeded far when a letter from Mr. Baldwin, the English consul at Cairo, brought to Calcutta the news that war had been declared both in London and Paris. Francis and Wheler then insisted that the army should be recalled, as they considered that Bengal was as likely to be attacked by the French as Bombay, and as some great difficulties were already presenting themselves to the advance of the troops; but Hastings insisted that the army should go on, and that the river Hooghly, Calcutta, and Bengal could be very well defended without it.

Clive himself could not have kicked down obstacles and projected delays, or have acted in all respects with more determination than did Hastings on this trying occasion. He seized Chandernagore, which had not been re-fortified, and all the French factories in Bengal: he sent orders to the presidency of Madras to occupy Pondicherry instantly—but, in infraction of the last treaty of peace, Pondicherry had been re-fortified, and could not be taken without a desperate siege—he threw up strong works near Calcutta; and, still further to impede the approach to that capital, he collected a vast number of vessels, of all kinds, shapes, and riggings, and improvised a regular marine establishment; he raised nine new battalions of sepoys and a numerous corps of native artillery; and, being thus perfectly at ease in this quarter, he directed his attention to the westward, to the march of the army, and to the proceedings at Poona. The Presidency of Bombay, under whose orders Colonel Leslie had been told to consider himself from the moment he crossed

the Jumna, vacillated very miserably, and embarrassed that officer, who upon trial did not prove equal to the exigencies of the case. Hastings recalled Colonel Leslie to Bengal, and confided the command of the army to Lieutenant-Colonel Goddard, a much more active and enterprising officer, who had been his second in command. Goddard was immediately freed from the orders which had tied the hands and feet of his predecessor; he was instantly released from the authority of the presidency of Bombay, which might interrupt but could not promote his success. He forthwith quitted "the detested land of Bondilcund," and, taking the road through Malwa, he continued his march a long while in peace, ease, and plenty, without experiencing or expecting any of the many impediments which Leslie had so long complained of.* He soon crossed the Nerbudda, reached the city of Nagpoor, which Hastings, with a prospective glance, had declared to be the exact and proper centre of all our possessions and connexions in India! By the 1st of December Goddard had established friendly relations with the Mahrattas of Berar. Here he received despatches from Bombay acquainting him that they had at last put an army in motion for Poona, and expected that he would meet it in the neighbourhood of that city. This Bombay force, 4500 strong, under Colonel Egerton, quitted the coast, advanced boldly through the ghauts, arrived at Condalu, and by the 4th of January, 1779, were in full march for Poona. Egerton, therefore, kept advancing till the 9th of January, when he was only sixteen miles from Poona, in which neighbourhood he was to meet and form a junction with Goddard. But here a halt was suddenly ordered, for a large army of Mahratta horse was seen in front. Unfortunately for the credit of the expedition, the Bombay government had sent two civil commissioners to share the authority and direct the movements of Egerton. The civilians allowed themselves to be overcome by unmanly fears, and, upon pretext that the subsistence of the troops would be very precarious if

* Hastings Letter to Sulivan.

they advanced—they had still in camp provisions for eighteen days!—they ordered a retreat. The Mahratta army of horse followed them and almost enveloped them, cut to pieces three or four hundred men, and carried off the greater part of their baggage and provisions. The two commissioners fell into a state of helplessness and despair; and even Colonel Egerton declared it to be impossible to carry back the army to Bombay. The three deserved hanging. A deputation was sent to the Mahrattas to know upon what terms they would condescend to permit their quiet march back to the coast. The Mahrattas chiefs demanded that Ragoba should be delivered to them. With this demand Colonel Egerton and the commissioners complied, excusing the breach of honour and hospitality by alleging, what was probably true enough, that Ragoba, despairing of success, had opened a correspondence with the enemy. When the Mahratta chiefs had got Ragoba into their hands they asked another price for permitting the retreat, and this was nothing less than a new treaty by which the English should agree to give up all the acquisitions they had made in that part of India since the year 1756, and send orders to Colonel Goddard to return peaceably to Bengal. Egerton and the commissioners did as they were commanded, and signed a treaty to this effect. The Mahratta chiefs then asked for hostages, intimating that they must be men of importance. The army recommended that the two commissioners should be delivered over to them; but it was finally arranged that two other civilians should be sent to the Mahratta camp. The dishonoured army was then told it might pursue its march to Bombay without fear of molestation. In the meanwhile Goddard had continued advancing upon Poona, in the full confidence that he should meet Egerton and his army near that city. But when he reached Boorhanpoor, the ancient capital of Candeish, 980 miles from Calcutta by the route he had taken, Goddard, too, was brought to a halt by perplexing letters and advices. By one letter from the field-commissioners, written in compliance with their treaty, he

was told that he must retrace his steps; by another from the same field-commissioners he was told that he must pay no attention to what they had said; but these lack-brains gave him no account or intelligible hint of what had befallen their Bombay army. In this state of doubt Goddard remained at Boorhampoor till the 5th of February, when he learned the real state of affairs. Luckily he was no Egerton, and had no field-commissioners with him. He would not be bound by a treaty made by fools and cowards, who had no right to include him in their disgrace; and he bravely determined to continue his march to the western coast, avoiding Poona, where the game for the present was lost, and making direct for Surat, where he would be in an English settlement, with the sea open to Bombay, and ready to act as occasion, or his orders from Calcutta, might require. Goddard and his sepoys performed the 250 miles' march in nineteen days, and entered Surat amidst acclamations. They had achieved a triumph more valuable than any victory: they had left a moral impression which could not be soon effaced, and which was scarcely overrated by Hastings. "Be assured," wrote the governor-general to one of the directors, "that the successful and steady progress of a part, and that known to be but a small part, of the military force of Bengal from the Jumna to Surat has contributed more than perhaps our most splendid achievements to augment our military reputation, and to confirm the ascendant of our influence over all the powers of Hindustan. To them, as to ourselves, the attempt appeared astonishing and impracticable, because it had never before been made or suggested. It has shown what the British are capable of effecting."* Ragoba, escaping from his confinement at Poona, took refuge in Surat. Goddard took the field again at the beginning of January, 1780. In a few days he reduced the fortress of Dubhoy, and carried by storm the important city of Ahmedabad, the ancient capital of Guzerat. He was recalled in the direction of Surat by intelligence that a

* Letter to Sullivan, as given by Mr. Gleig.

Mahratta army under the two great chiefs or princes, Scindia and Holkar, was approaching that city. On the 8th of March his rapid marches had brought him nearly up with this army. It was 40,000 strong, but he resolved to give battle. By the more rapid movements of their cavalry, Scindia and Holkar were for many days enabled to avoid an attack; but on the 3rd of April, between night and morning, Goddard, with a small but select part of his army, surprised them in their camp, and gave them a thorough defeat. Flying in the greatest confusion to the ghauts, the Mahrattas left Goddard undisputed master of all the country between the mountains and the sea.

In the mean time Hastings had formed an alliance with a Hindu prince, commonly called the Ranna of Gohud, who possessed an extensive hilly country on the Jumna, between the territories of the great Mahratta Scindia and the kingdom of Oude; and Captain Popham with a small force had been detached to assist the Ranna in expelling a Mahratta invasion. Popham had taken the field at the beginning of the year, and had not only driven out the Mahrattas from the dominions of the Ranna, but had crossed the Sind, had followed them into their own territory, and had taken by storm the fortress of Lahar, the capital of Cutchwagar. Hastings recommended the immediate reinforcing of Popham as an officer capable of shaking the power of Scindia and Holkar in the heart of their own country. Francis protested against any extension of the war, but it was resolved to send another detachment. Before it had time to arrive, Popham with extraordinary skill and daring took by escalade the fortress of Gualior, one of the very strongest and most important places in all India, built upon a lofty and almost perpendicular rock, and then defended by a numerous garrison.

Gualior had long been deemed impregnable by the natives: it was only about 190 miles from Delhi and not more than 50 from Agra, which was then Scindia's capital. The Mahrattas abandoned all the neighbouring country and carried terror and dismay into Agra.

The opposition to this brilliant campaign of Popham was about the last public act in India of Francis. A hollow reconciliation had been effected between the governor-general and this member of the supreme council, Francis agreeing to cease or moderate his opposition, and Hastings agreeing to allow Francis a larger share in the distribution of places of honour and profit. But the temper of one of these contracting parties was uncontrollable, and so were the suspicions and antipathies of the other. If Hastings on vital occasions could suspend his resentments, he was not of a forgiving temper; and Francis had offered him insults difficult to be forgiven by any man, unless on a death-bed. He attributed the far greater part of the agony of mind he had endured, and of the risks he had run, to the "incendiary impressions" of the ex-clerk of the war-office. "Francis," said he to a confidential correspondent, "is the vilest fetcher and carrier of tales to set friends, and even the most intimate friends, at variance, of any man I ever knew. Even the apparent levity of his ordinary behaviour is but a cloak to deception."* Under all these circumstances it was utterly impossible that the compact should be binding, or that the truce between the governor-general and his opponent should be lasting. Incensed at the renewal of opposition and the pains taken to thwart the campaign of Popham, Hastings, on the 14th of July (1780), in answering a minute of council, declared,—"I do not trust to Mr. Francis's promises of candour, convinced that he is incapable of it. I judge of his public conduct by his private, which I have found to be void of truth and honour." Upon this, Francis could not do less than challenge the governor-general; and, not being veiled and defended by the impenetrable cloud and mist that hung over Junius, he was shot through the body. The wound, though dangerous, did not prove mortal; but he resigned his place and returned home a few months after receiving it.

Between Goddard and Popham the most brilliant suc-

* Letters to Sulivan.

cesses had been obtained, and the Mahratta war promised a complete triumph, when the Mysoreans again took the field, threatening ruin to the English power and possessions on the Coromandel coast. For the space of seven years Hyder Ali had been concerting schemes with the French at Pondicherry, improving and increasing his army, and preparing the nerves of war by a financial system which has been much applauded, but which appears to have consisted mainly in extortion from his subjects and plunder from his neighbours. The treasury of Mysore was certainly well filled, and all the weight which money could give was on the side of Hyder, when, in the summer of 1780, after prayers in all the mosques, and ceremonies in all the Hindu temples, he quitted Seringapatam and poured through the ghauts with 15,000 drilled infantry, 40,000 peons, 28,000 cavalry, 2000 artillery and rocket-men, and 400 Europeans, Frenchmen and other adventurers. There was a complete staff of French officers to direct operations according to the best rules. The artillery exceeded one hundred pieces of all calibres. To meet these long preparations and this immense force, the presidency of Madras had an empty exchequer, a divided and factious council, an army not exceeding 6000 men, counting sepoys, who formed by far the largest part of it; and these troops, wholly unprepared, were scattered over a wide tract of country, in Pondicherry, which had been taken from the French, in Trichinopoly, in Arcot, in Madras, in cantonments far apart, and in forts incapable of resisting a battering train, or badly supplied with provisions and stores. As for the forces of their ally, the nabob of the Carnatic, there was no reliance to be put on them: they ran away, or they deserted to Hyder, as soon as his army defiled through the ghauts. Porto Novo, on the coast, and Conjeveram, close to Trichinopoly, were captured and plundered; the people were flying in all directions from fire and sword towards the English presidency; and the flames kindled by Hyder were seen by night from the top of Mount St. Thomas. Blacks and whites gathered under the guns of Fort St. George as

the only place where they could be safe; and the neighbouring villas, the Black town, and Madras itself, were deserted by their panic-stricken inhabitants. Almost the first thing the presidency did was to despatch a fast-sailing ship to Calcutta, with letters and agents, to implore the governor-general to send them help, but above all *money;* and Hastings and the supreme council were told that if they sent money all would go well, but that without money every thing must be lost, and a death-blow be given to the British empire in India.

To complete the embarrassments of the presidency of Madras, the arrival of a French armament on the coast, to recover Pondicherry and co-operate with Hyder, was confidently reported. Colonel Baillie, with a lamentable deficiency of judgment, allowed himself to be surrounded, near Conjeveram, by the whole host of Hyder, with upwards of sixty cannon. But the bravery of his small body of men was even more conspicuous than his own folly. Though worn out by forced marches, and almost sinking with hunger, sepoys, as well as British, kept their ground with a spirit that has rarely been surpassed. But for the French staff around him, Hyder would have given up the contest and retreated. The English repelled charge after charge, and the fire of their platoons, as regular as the motions of a machine, inflicted terrible slaughter. But, at half-past seven in the evening, when the battle had lasted for many hours, and when Hyder's troops appeared to be commencing a retreat without orders, two tumbrils blew up, killed a number of men, overset their guns, and left the English almost without ammunition. Still they kept their ground, and they continued fighting on till nine o'clock, when all the sepoys that remained were broken and cut to pieces. The British that survived—less than 400 in number, and most of them wounded—gained the ridge of a hill and formed in square, the officers fighting with their swords, the men with their bayonets, or only now and then burning a cartridge. They resisted many attacks, and would have resisted more if Colonel Baillie had not gone forward to ask for quarter, waving his

handkerchief and ordering them to lay down their arms. It is said that Baillie committed a mistake in supposing that his signal was favorably answered; it is said that some of his men would not lay down their arms, and continued to use them; but the undisputed termination of the affair was a cowardly butchery of one-half of the English, and a horrible captivity to the rest. Of eighty-six officers thirty-six were killed and thirty-four wounded and mangled. A great part of the country was again laid waste; and, within a few weeks from Hyder Ali's first descent, Wandewash, Chingleput, Vellore, and Arcot were either captured or closely besieged. But for Hastings, there was an end to our power not only in the Carnatic but also in the Northern Circars. He too had to contend with an empty treasury and with a council that was still far from unanimous. Money, however, was procured, and fifteen lacs of rupees were sent off to Madras as a present supply for the army. More money was promised, and the Governor-General's missives and agents were sent flying through the country to procure it—at Moorshedabad, at Patna, at Benares, at Lucknow, in every place where Hastings had a claim, or could invent one—for all considerations gave way in his mind to the paramount duty of preserving the British empire in the east. If he could have coined his body, and his soul too, into lacs of rupees, he would have done it at this tremendous crisis.

The inept governor of Fort St. George or Madras was recalled, and Sir Eyre Coote, who had fought under Clive at Plassey, was invited to take the command of the fort and the entire management of the war with Hyder Ali. Peace was concluded with Scindia, and the brave Popham was recalled from the Jumna. Hastings at every demur or hesitation of the council, offered, in the manner of Clive, to take all the responsibility upon himself. He strained every nerve, and sent troops from Calcutta to Madras both by land and sea. Colonel Pearse made a wonderful march of more than 1100 miles, and through a county intersected by many rivers, which were all to be crossed where broadest, or nearest their

mouths. Hyder Ali abandoned Wandewash, raised several of his sieges, and he would have fled altogether, or have entered into a treaty with Coote, but for the arrival of a French fleet on the coast. Again the governor-general was implored to send help, but above all *money*. Hyder now moved on the right flank of the English with the intention of keeping open his communications with the French; but he cautiously avoided a battle. The French ships, having landed supplies, sailed away. Sir Edward Hughes with an English squadron destroyed Hyder's infant navy in his own ports of Calicut and Mangalore, and then carried some reinforcements to Coote. Tippoo, the son of Hyder, laid another fruitless siege to Wandewash. Coote thoroughly defeated Hyder on the 1st of July in his fortified camp at Cuddalore. The old Mysorean raved and tore his clothes. He began to have a correcter notion of the spirit and resources of his enemy, and he bitterly regretted having allowed himself to be drawn into the war by French councils. "The defeat of many Baillies," said he, "will not destroy these English. I can ruin their resources by land, but I cannot dry up the sea." He risked another battle on the 27th of August, and another on the 27th of September; he was defeated by Coote in both, and then retreated with terrible loss. In the mean time an able and a truly excellent man, Lord Macartney, had arrived from England as governor of Madras. His lordship brought intelligence that the Dutch had joined the French, Spaniards, and Americans, and that war had been declared between England and Holland. His first care was to make himself master of all the Dutch factories or settlements on that coast. One of them—Negapatam—stood a siege, but soon surrendered. An expedition was then sent to drive the Dutch out of Trincomalee in the Island of Ceylon; and this was completely successful.

Colonel Brathwaite, while in Tanjore, was surprised, enveloped, and destroyed on the 18th of February, 1782, by Tippoo and a French corps. This severe blow was almost immediately followed by the arrival on the coast

of M. de Suffrein, with ships, and an army 3000 strong, two-thirds being veteran French troops, and the other third Caffres, picked up at the Isles of France and Bourbon. Sir E. Hughes with a very inferior force gave Suffrein battle, but could not succeed in interrupting his operations. On the 12th of April, Hughes fought another drawn battle, in which the number of killed and wounded on either side was about equal.

The 2000 French and the 1000 Caffres were under the command of M. Bussy, who, no more than Coote, was the man he had been twenty years before. They united with the army of Tippoo, and besieged and captured Cuddalore. From this important conquest Bussy and Tippoo advanced against Wandewash; but Coote, though suffering from a recent and violent apoplectic attack, advanced rapidly to the relief of that place, and on the 24th of April, encamped on the very spot where he haddefeated Lally and Bussy in the year 1760. Instead of accepting the battle he offered, Bussy and Tippoo retreated before Coote and his prestige. The English then threatened the strong fort of Arnee, where Hyder had deposited plunder and provisions. The old Mysorean advanced in person for the defence of this place, and fought a loose, irregular battle, in which he sustained great loss; but while he was thus facing Coote, his son Tippoo succeeding in carrying off the plunder and provisions from Arnee. After these operations Bussy retreated towards Cuddalore and Pondicherry. Hyder put himself in quarters near the coast, and Tippoo and some strong French detachments hurried away to Calicut, where the affairs of his father seemed going to utter ruin, for the Nairs or Hindu chiefs of the Malabar coast, who had been cruelly oppressed by the Mysoreans, were rising in arms, and joining an English force under Colonel Mackenzie. At this juncture, when experience had shown him that even with the aid of his European allies he could not face the English, Hyder was thrown into dismay by learning the result of Hastings's successful policy, or the conclusion of the treaty between the English and the Mahrattas. He expected every moment to

have the Mahratta confederacy upon him; and the Mahrattas alone had on a former occasion proved more than a match for him. His health, which had been declining for some time, was shaken by his anxieties and still increasing suspicions. He had long been haunted by visions of conspiracy and murder. He, however, permitted himself to be persuaded by Bussy that the war in the Carnatic was far from hopeless, and he was preparing to co-operate with Bussy in an attack upon Negapatam.

On the 3rd of July Suffrein and Hughes fought another drawn battle, in which both fleets were greatly damaged. Suffrein was the first to be ready for sea, and making for Ceylon, and dashing into Trincomalee Bay, he took the town and the forts there, which Hughes had so recently taken from the Dutch. Hughes was soon after him; and on the 2nd of September there was another fierce engagement, in which the French lost more than 1000 killed and wounded, and the English, two Captains of ships killed, and about 330 men and officers in killed and wounded. Suffrein ran back to Trincomalee, and Hughes returned to Madras, where he found Sir Eyre Coote almost deprived of the use of his limbs by another attack of paralysis. The monsoon soon obliged Hughes to go round to Bombay. At the setting in of that stormy season a whole fleet of merchant ships loaded with rice for the garrison and the town of Madras, and for the army in the field, was wrecked. There had been a scarcity before, but now there was absolute famine. Thousands of the poor natives of the Carnatic, who had fled from Hyder to seek refuge under the guns of Fort St. George, were the first to feel these horrors: they died by hundreds, and they soon had fellow-sufferers.

Sir Eyre Coote, in a deplorable state of health, set sail for Calcutta soon after. The command devolved to General Stuart, who reinforced Negapatam, and sent 400 Europeans to co-operate with the Bombay army under Goddard, who was preparing to invade Mysore. Tippoo was gone to the Malabar coast with an army of 20,000 men and a French corps 400 strong. Colonel

Humberstone Mackenzie was pressing on Mysore from the south, and was not many marches from Seringapatam, when the return of Tippoo constrained him to retreat towards the coast. Mackenzie halted at Paniany, a seaport town about thirty-five miles from Calicut, and there resolved to defend himself against Tippoo and the French, who were close on his rear. A tremendous conflict took place on the 28th of November. The Mysorean sustained a great loss, and the victory of the British was chiefly owing to that pride of Highland regiments, the gallant 42nd. At this juncture Hyder Ali died, and it behoved Tippoo to hasten to Seringapatam to look after his inheritance, for he had brothers and cousins. The "Tiger,"—for such being translated, is the appropriate name of Tippoo—had reached the manly age of thirty years when he assumed the reins of government, with an army of 90,000 men, a treasury containing three crores of rupees in hard money, and a mass of booty, jewels, and other valuables, estimated at an immense amount. With these resources, with the French alliance, and with a passion for war and aggrandizement, Tippoo scorned all overtures for a peace with the English—overtures which his wiser father would certainly have accepted, if he had lived a few months or a few weeks longer. He took the field at the beginning of 1783, but soon retreated before General Stuart. Tippoo recalled his garrisons from Arcot and other places, and was evidently evacuating the Carnatic, in order to make head against the English, who were carrying every thing before them on the Malabar coast, under the command of General Mathews, who had arrived from England with king's troops. Onore was taken by storm, and the rich capital of Bednore surrendered to Mathews without firing a gun. Most of the other forts surrendered at or before a summons; but Ananpore and Mangalore held out. Ananpore was soon carried by storm, and Mangalore surrendered as soon as a breach was made. Through the covetousness of General Mathews, who wanted to keep nearly all the booty to himself, quarrels broke out, and some of the best officers left

the army in disgust. Mathews then acted like a madman, scattering his army all over the country, and fixing his head-quarters in the city of Bednore, without laying in ammunition, or doing anything to strengthen the forts. In this state of stupid security he was surrounded by Tippoo with an immense army, and on the 30th of April he was compelled to capitulate. Instead of permitting the general and his troops to withdraw to the coast, according to the terms of the capitulation, Tippoo bound them with chains or ropes, and sent them into Mysore to be thrown into horrible dungeons, excusing his conduct by accusing Mathews of purloining some of the public treasure which he had agreed to leave in the fort.* But this mode of treating prisoners was all along a fixed rule of conduct both with Hyder and his son. After this success Tippoo went through the ghauts and laid siege to Mangalore, into which the brave 42nd and some fragments of Mathews's army had thrown themselves. There the Mysorean was detained for months.

Sir Eyre Coote had returned to the coast to resume the chief command in the Carnatic, but a third fit had proved fatal to him. The French had formed strong lines at Cuddalore, and from these General Stuart was determined to drive them. On the 13th of June a very unfortunate assault was made by the English. On the next day Sir Edward Hughes appeared in the offing to co-operate with Stuart; but the French admiral Suffrein appeared at the same time, and succeeded in getting between Hughes and Cuddalore. After many manœuvres another sea-battle was fought on the 20th of June. As it grew dark these two old antagonists separated, each with a good number of killed and wounded

* Mathews had certainly gained a bad character for rapacity and selfishness; but Tippoo's accusation was probably not more true than the charge brought against him by his own army, which made the amount of plunder he had secured amount to more than 800,000*l.* in money, besides jewels! Bednore had once been a very wealthy city, but it had been visited too often by Hyder to be very rich now.

on his decks, but without either capturing a single ship; and thus indecisively ended the fifth and last engagement between Sir Edward Hughes and M. de Suffrein. A few days after this, when General Stuart was just ready for another desperate assault on the lines of Cuddalore, news arrived that a treaty of peace had been concluded between France and England. Tippoo, who resolved to continue the war even without French assistance, remained with his whole army at Mangalore. Nor were military operations suspended by the English. Colonel Fullarton, an excellent officer, and, in his way, a man of genius, had made, and was still making, wonderful progress in the country beyond Tanjore: he had gained the attachment of the Zamorin, or ancient Hindoo sovereign of Calicut, and of nearly all the rajahs on the Malabar coast, whom Hyder had dispossessed and most barbarously treated; he had captured many forts and towns; he had made the most astonishing marches through the most difficult of countries; and he had opened to himself a new and direct road to Seringapatam, which was not then the strong place it became at a later date, where his prestige was destroyed by an order to return instantly to the Carnatic.

Colonel Campbell, who had behaved like a hero, and who had sustained a siege and blockade of nine months, agreed, on the 23rd of January, 1784, to quit Mangalore upon honourable conditions. Tippoo had lost before those rotten walls, by war, sickness, and desertion, nearly one-half of his immense army; but he considered the place as a charm on the possession of which the fortunes of his house depended; and he was made so happy by entering into it that for once he kept his engagements, and allowed Campbell, with his troops and baggage, sick and wounded, to march unmolested to Tellicherry. At that place Campbell died soon after, worn out by the fatigues and sufferings he had undergone. General Mathews, a very different man, who had capitulated at Bednore, was deliberately murdered in prison, together with several of his officers. Campbell would not have capitulated even when he did but for the know-

ledge that both the British government and the company were determined to make peace with the Mysorean ruler, and to give him back not only Mangalore but also every place on the Malabar coast which had been taken from him. Another campaign would have finished the story of Tippoo Sultaun. It was, however, that tyrant's fate that he should be left to scourge his kind, and to renew his contest with the English when he should be again encouraged by the French. The treaty with him was finally concluded on the 11th of March, upon the condition of a restitution by both parties of all they had gained in the war. Peace may be so made as to be more unjust and cruel than the worst wars. By this treaty the poor Malabar Hindoos, whom we had excited to insurrection, and to whom we had promised protection against Tippoo, were by us restored to the dominion of that vindictive and ferocious prince. The tales told by the English prisoners of war, whom he now liberated, excited horror and indignation in our army, and by themselves alone rendered the duration of any peace with him very problematical.

Compared with the danger and despondency at the beginning of the war, or with the result of the national contests in other parts of the globe, this was a most advantageous peace for England. The real danger in the Carnatic was over so soon as Sir Eyre Coote gained the battle of Porto Novo. The French power in India had been destroyed; vast acquisitions of territory had been made; and the impression had been produced among nearly all the native princes that the power of England was irresistible. The extent of these operations was magnificent and astounding: it embraced the two sides of the vast triangle of India, from the mouths of the Ganges to Cape Comorin, and from Cape Comorin to Bombay and Surat and the Gulf of Cambay; and inland it nearly traversed the base of the triangle. India was saved when our empire in the West was lost. No Englishman, we presume, can even now reflect without a shudder upon the effect which would have been produced in Europe if the loss of our Indian empire had

been added to the loss of the thirteen provinces of North America—and that this had not happened had been owing to the genius and spirit of one great man. But the expenses of this Indian war had been tremendous; and, as the far greater part of the money could come only from Bengal, Warren Hastings had, in some few instances, put no trifling burden upon his conscience to procure it. His only principle of action was that the Carnatic must be rescued, that India must be saved, cost what it might; and, as the first step to that salvation was the obtaining of money, he determined that money should be obtained by whatever means lay in his power. But, even in these instances, let every true Englishman, ere he condemns the governor-general, ask himself what he might not have done under the same circumstances. Some of the neighbouring princes that owed their political existence to the power of English arms, and that were entirely dependent upon the government of Calcutta, were known to possess hidden treasures of vast amount. The plan was to squeeze them; for, although they owed everything to the English, and their destruction must be involved in that of the company, they would not willingly part with their money even when they saw themselves threatened with that destruction. Oude and Benares, though nominally independent states, were to all intents and purposes conquered and tributary countries, and they would not have hesitated to have so acknowledged themselves. Even Sujah-u-Dowla, who "wanted neither pride nor understanding," would have thought it an honour to be called the vizier of the King of England, and had actually offered to coin his money in the name and with the effigies of George III.* If the offer of sovereignty had been accepted—if the company or nation had frankly proclaimed themselves, what they were *de facto*, the lords and rulers of Oude and Benares—if when, by arms or by policy, the English obtained dominion over principalities and powers, they had assumed their proper style and title, instead of call-

* Letter from Hastings to Mr. Elliot

ing themselves protectors, allies, auxiliaries, and the like, with a false moderation of language which deceived no one, either in Europe or in Asia—Lord Clive, as well as Warren Hastings, would have been relieved from many a false position; and actions not warranted by their *nominal* relations with the native princes would have been reconcilable to the law of nations.

In one of his financial operations Hastings had exposed his life. After submitting to the pressure several times, Cheyte-Sing, the rajah of Benares, refused to furnish any more money. The governor-general went from Calcutta to Benares, and there, on the 15th of August, 1781, he put the vassal rajah under arrest. This provoked a popular insurrection, and the massacre of four companies of sepoys with all their British officers. Hastings fled to the fortress of Chunar, built on a rock, about seventeen miles from Benares. On the 29th of August the liberated Cheyte-Sing surrounded the rock with 30,000 men, but he was defeated and his forces were scattered by the faithful sepoys who had marched hastily up the country to rescue their much-loved governor-general. The rebellious rajah fled into Bondilcund, where he passed the rest of his life in exile and poverty. Hastings took the entire management and jurisdiction of the city and country into his own hands; but as a puppet rajah was considered indispensable at Benares, he selected a nephew of Cheyte-Sing to fill that part.

By this revolution an addition of about 200,000*l.* per annum was made to the revenues of the company; but ready money there was none, and this must be procured somewhere. The governor-general therefore determined to apply the screw to Asoff-ul-Dowla, nabob of Oude and master of Rohilcund, and one of the most extravagant, debauched, and contemptible of Indian princes. On the rock of Chunar, to which he was summoned, the nabob undertook to extort money from the two Begums, his mother and grandmother, who had hoarded an enormous treasure—to which their original right was very disputable, and who had concealed it in the oriental

manner. Middleton and the people of the nabob got at this hidden treasure, and in so doing committed several acts of great oppression and cruelty. In all about one million sterling was obtained in Oude. This money, procured at a most critical moment, had all gone to feed the war: Hastings had not appropriated a rupee of it.

Francis had returned to Europe, with the wound inflicted by Hastings's pistol fresh on his body, and with the bitterest feelings of animosity rankling in his heart. He was one of the most ambitious as well as the most vindictive of men: he aspired to the post which Hastings filled; and almost to the last day of his life he flattered his imagination with the brilliant dream that, by some strange combination, he should be Governor-General of India. He had made the acquaintance of Burke before he went to the East; he corresponded with him during his residence at Calcutta; and on his return he had full possession of his ear, and filled Burke's generous and excitable mind with false and horrible tales against Hastings and against all who had supported that governor-general in his struggle with Francis, Clavering, and Monson. From the moment of Francis's arrival in England, by means of pamphlets, books of travels, harangues at public meetings, private discussions, and parliamentary orations, a merciless war was commenced against the great man who was saving, and who in the end did both save and enlarge, our Indian empire. It was soon resolved to impeach Hastings for the means he had employed to effect the great object. If India had been lost—as it must have been but for the means he had employed—he would have been impeached for losing it.

Mr. Pitt's government, though long averse to the impeachment, did not give the governor-general all the protection which he merited. Hastings, however, was not recalled: he resigned. The two last years of his administration in India formed by far the happiest period of his public life. The peace with France, which paralyzed the most powerful of the native princes, enabled him to get the whole country into a state of tranquillity

and prosperity, which had not been known for many ages. It also enabled him to extend the British influence in several new directions, and to confirm it in others. In the supreme council all opposition had ceased or become of the mildest kind, and the records and protests which Francis, Clavering, and Monson, had left behind them were read with astonishment and indignation, and with the intimate conviction that if their schemes had been followed, India would have been lost, like America. Having completed his preparations, he embarked on the 8th of February, 1785, attended by demonstrations that certainly did not mark him out as a tyrant and a monster. As soon as it was publicly known that he was really about to quit the government, which he had held for thirteen years, numerous addresses were got up and presented by all classes; by military officers, by the civil servants of the company, by factors and traders, by natives as well as Europeans. During his voyage, which was unusually short for those times, he amused himself with reading, and with writing verses; and in the course of the last novel occupation, he translated that well-known ode, wherein the Roman poet expresses his philosophic indifference to wealth and worldly grandeur, and his love of a humble retirement, with an ease not to be purchased by jewels nor by gold.* And of gold Hastings had comparatively but little. It has been calculated that he might with ease to himself have brought home from two to three millions sterling: what he brought was less than 130,000*l.*, was less than the fortunes which had been made by Barwell, and other members of the council—far less than what the patriotic Francis had made in six years; and Hastings, who had been thirteen years a governor-general, had been altogether more than thirty years in India!

He was most favourably received at Court; but his enemies did not leave him long tranquil. Francis had obtained a seat in parliament, ranging himself on the side of the most active and the most eloquent opposition

* 'Otium Divos rogat.'—*Horace.*

party that the country had yet seen; and through Francis and his too credulous ally Burke, the prosecution of Hastings was made a party question. It took some time and trouble to convert Charles Fox, but at last that statesman entered into the crusade against the governor-general with his constitutional heat and impetuosity. Sheridan, Sir Gilbert Elliot, Sir John Anstruther, Mr. Windham, Mr. (afterwards Earl) Grey, and all the great Whig orators either preceded or followed Fox; and for many years their efforts were united to effect the ruin and disgrace of Warren Hastings, who was no orator, who had no seat in parliament, and who had to contend with nearly every possible disadvantage. The mere outlines of the proceedings would fill a volume much larger than this (they lasted altogether more than ten years), and without details still more voluminous, an adequate notion could not be conveyed of this unprecedented persecution. We can here, do no more than give the results.

On the 4th of April, Burke charged Warren Hastings, Esquire, late governor-general of Bengal, &c., with sundry high crimes and misdemeanors, and delivered at the table nine of his articles of charge. In the course of the following week he presented twelve more articles; and on the 6th of May, another charge, being the *twenty-second*, was added to the long and bewildering list. But the several accusations were finally confined to four heads:—the oppression and final expulsion of the rajah of Benares; the maltreatment and robbery of the Begums (or princesses) of the house of Oude; and the charges of receiving presents and conniving at unfair contracts and extravagant expenditure. The sessions of 1786-7 having been consumed in preliminary proceedings, the House of Lords assembled in Westminster Hall, February 13th, 1788, to try the impeachment; and on the 15th the preliminary forms having been gone through, Mr. Burke, in the name of the Commons of England, opened the charges against the prisoner in a comprehensive, elaborate, and most eloquent speech, which lasted upwards of three days. He was assisted in the management of this most

arduous cause by Fox, Sheridan, Grey, and others. The sessions of 1788, 1789, and 1790 were consumed in going through the case for the prosecution. In 1791 the Commons expressed their willingness to abandon some part of the charges, with the view of bringing this extraordinary trial sooner to an end; and on the 2nd of June, the seventy-third day, Mr. Hastings began his defence. This was protracted until April 17, 1795, on which (the 148th) day he was acquitted by a large majority on every separate article charged against him.

The Opposition party, who at that time almost monopolised the public press, had deeply blackened the character of the benefactor of his country and the *people* of India; yet public opinion changed greatly during the long trial, and Hastings came to be regarded as an oppressed, instead of an offending man. The malice of Francis was so far defeated; but the law charges of the defence had exhausted the very moderate fortune of the late Governor-General; and but for an annuity of 4000*l.* and a loan of ready money granted to him by the East India Company, in 1796, the illustrious and (in private life) amiable Hastings might have been left to end his days in a prison or a poor-house.

Strenuous and unscrupulous efforts were made by the parliamentary opposition to couple Sir Elijah Impey, the first chief-justice of Bengal, with the first Governor-General. Philip Francis, who was the prompter in all these proceedings—who was accuser, witness, and in a manner judge—hated the chief-justice as much as he hated Hastings. It had been part of Sir Elijah's duty to sentence Francis to pay heavy damages for a *crim. con.* case at Calcutta; and the chief-justice, together with the three other judges of the Supreme Court, upholding the laws and the Regulating Act, had repeatedly declared themselves against the high proceedings of Francis, Clavering, and Monson, when, as a majority of the Supreme Council, they endeavoured to deprive the Governor-General of his authority. Impey, in other matters, had frequently disagreed with his friend and schoolfellow

Hastings. At times there was a complete alienation between them, the chief-justice manfully defending the powers with which his sovereign and the Regulating Act and Charter had invested him. But Francis chose to represent Impey as the slave and tool of Hastings, and to accuse him of having unjustly put to death the Rajah Nuncomar, in order to screen the Governor-General from the accusations of that discredited and infamous Hindu. The rajah was tried for forgery, a capital crime by the existing laws of Calcutta; he was tried by a most respectable jury, before all the four judges; and as there was no appeal made, and no petition for mercy submitted to the court, the rajah was hanged, as any other man would have been under the same circumstances. A petition was sent by the rajah to General Clavering; but the General never produced it until several days after the execution; and then the majority in council—Francis, Clavering, and Monson—ordered it to be burned by the hands of the common hangman, as it contained a shameful libel against the judges. Sir Elijah Impey had had much less to do with this trial than any of the judges; he had treated the criminal with the greatest indulgence, and if he had pronounced the sentence upon him it was only as president and organ of the bench. Yet, prompted by Francis, and acting in concert with Burke, Fox, and the rest of the opposition leaders, Sir Gilbert Elliot, on the 12th of December, 1787, denounced Sir Elijah, in the House of Commons, as the single sole murderer of the Rajah Nuncomar, and moved his impeachment upon that and upon five other charges. On the 4th of February, 1788, a petition was presented from Sir Elijah, praying to be heard in answer to the charges, before the House proceeded any farther. As a matter of common justice permission was granted, and, on the 8th, the late chief-justice delivered at the bar of the House a convincing and most triumphant defence to the horrible Nuncomar charge, compared with which the other five charges were insignificant. On the 9th of May, Sir Elijah was acquitted of the Nuncomar charge by a par-

liamentary majority, and this put an end to all proceedings against him. Although in the course of Hastings's long trial the impeachment-managers frequently reflected upon the late chief-justice, they never attempted to go into any more of Sir Gilbert Elliot's charges. However much defamed by faction—whose inventions and calumnies have even recently been repeated as historical truths—Impey retained the friendship of many of the honestest, best, and most enlightened men of that day. He was requested by the king to return to his important post; but he had suffered too much in India, in health of body and tranquillity of mind; and he passed the rest of his days in England, on a very limited fortune, but in a happy and honoured retirement. We have had access to documents and materials which other writers have not sought for or have purposely kept out of view; we have devoted much time and labour to the inquiry; and we can now confidently affirm that Sir Elijah Impey was an honest, impartial, merciful, and fearless judge, and in private life one of the most amiable and exemplary of men.*

Next to the American war, which we have related, and the war of the French Revolution, to which we are now fast approaching, the events in the East Indies form by far the most important part of the history of George III. We now quit them, and return to the course of events in England, and neighbouring states in Europe.

* For the most convincing proofs we refer the reader to an interesting volume, which is now in the press, and will be very soon before the public—'Memoirs of Sir Elijah Impey, Knt., First Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Judicature at Fort William, in Bengal; with anecdotes of Warren Hastings, Sir Philip Francis, Nathaniel Brassey Halhed, and other contemporaries, compiled from authentic documents, &c. &c. By Elijah Barwell Impey.'

We have ourselves carefully examined all the documents which form the substance of this volume, and can pledge our faith for the correctness with which they are printed from the original papers existing in the East India House, the Privy Council, and in family collections of manuscripts.

The king, who had made up for the neglected education of his youth by quiet study, and by an unvarying attention to business, was now exceedingly popular with the great body of the nation. On the 2nd of August, as his majesty was alighting at the garden door leading from the Park into St. James's Palace, a female, who had placed herself by the door, presented a petition, and, as he was in the act of receiving it, struck at him with a knife which she had previously kept concealed. She aimed at the heart, but the blade being weak in the middle from frequent grinding, doubled or bent, and the king stepped back without receiving the slightest wound. Before the maniac could repeat the stroke one of the king's yeomen of the guard caught her arm, and one of the king's footmen wrenched the knife from her hand. The king's nerves were not easily shaken: he said—"I am not hurt—take care of the poor woman—do not hurt her." On being examined before the privy council it appeared that her name was Margaret Nicholson, that she came from Stockton-upon-Tees, that she was a common needlework-woman and very mad, having taken it into her head that the crown of England was by right hers, and that England would be drowned in blood for a thousand generations if she did not get her right. After undergoing another examination by Doctor John and Doctor Thomas Munro and the lords of the privy council, who were unanimously of opinion that she had been and was insane, the poor creature was conveyed to Bedlam, where she lived for many years. In the mean time the king, who had come up to town for the purpose of holding a levee, had dressed himself and taken his station as if nothing had happened. It was scarcely a subject for jesting; for, though the woman was mad, if she had used a stronger knife there would have been blood and very possibly death; yet the wits of the opposition party took up even this business as a matter of joke and burlesque. They ridiculed the notion of a sempstress regicide, as if a sempstress could not kill a king; they maintained that there had not been the slightest danger from the attempt; and that the addresses and congratulations

from loyal counties, boroughs, universities, and bodies corporate—some of them, no doubt, exaggerated and silly enough as compositions—were all hollow farce and nonsense. It was the king's pleasure to confer the honour of knighthood on some of the bearers of these addresses, who, in several instances, had come from the furthermost parts of the kingdom to present them. The Whig wits immediately christened them all "The Knights of St. Margaret." It is said that George III. could laugh at these jests at his own expense; but many of them, hurtful to all kingly pride and state, must have rankled in his mind; and we can very well believe that the Whig party was injured by these bitter jokes, and by their own violence in parliament, and that Pitt's newly formed administration really profited by these mistakes of their rivals.

But another step taken long before this made the breach broader and more irreparable: the Whigs had rallied round the Prince of Wales, and two of their principal leaders and ornaments, Fox and Sheridan, continued to be the chosen boon companions of the heir apparent, whom—or so, at least, thought the king and queen—they encouraged not less in his extravagance and dissipation than in his political opposition to his father and Mr. Pitt.

On the 17th of August of the present year (1786) Frederick the Great of Prussia expired in the 75th year of his age, self-possessed and cynical to the last gasp. He was succeeded by his nephew Frederick William, who determined to interfere immediately in favour of the expelled Prince of Orange, who was married to his own sister, a woman generally supposed to have a more manly spirit than her husband. By the democratic party, who were represented, according to men's opposite principles or prejudices, as enlightened patriots or as a stupid and selfish faction, the House of Orange had been in effect deprived of the stadtholdership and driven into a kind of exile at Middleburg. At first his new majesty of Prussia was willing to try the effects of diplomacy and peaceful negotiation, and, jointly with the King of Great

Britain, he offered himself as a mediator between the Orangists and the democratic party. But this offer of mediation was rejected by the democrats upon the ground of partiality, George III. being considered to be as friendly to the House of Orange and quite as adverse to the popular party as Frederick William himself. His Prussian majesty then proposed joining in the mediation the King of France, who had all along sustained the democratic party. The court of Versailles embraced the idea, but proposed that the King of England should be left out, and that the mediation should be managed solely by France and Prussia. It was an insult to England, but Frederick William accepted this proposal. The animosities of the two contending parties were enough to defeat any attempt at a pacific arrangement. As soon as the negotiations began, M. de Rayneval and Baron Goertz acted as if they had met rather to make a war than to establish a peace; the Frenchman insisted that the Prince of Orange must surrender nearly all his privileges or prerogatives, or at least so much of them as would have left him with scarcely half the power of an American president; and the Prussian insisting that the Prince of Orange, as Stadtholder, should have more power than he had hitherto possessed. It was surely ominous to the French monarchy that, lately in America and now again in Holland, it should be committed and pledged to the support of democratic principles, and that it should persevere in so dangerous an anomaly as that of an absolute and arbitrary government making itself the protectress and champion of thorough-going and enthusiastic republicans; and that too at a time when France was in a most discontented and fermenting condition.

The French minister was the first to break off the negotiations, which he did in an abrupt manner at the end of December, and set off for Paris. The Dutch democrats were too far gone in their madness to feel that the French assistance might be as dangerous to the independence of their country as any Prussian invasion. Their confidence in French virtue and disinterestedness, and their assurance of obtaining whatever aid they might

require, were kept alive, not so much by the ministers and envoys of Louis XVI., as by a numerous swarm of political propagandists from Paris and other parts of France, who were initiating themselves in Holland in the craft and mystery of revolution which they were so soon to practise on an infinitely grander scale in their own country.

A.D. 1787.—In Lord North's time parliament was generally assembled as early as the month of November; but the rule seems now to have been adopted, that it was not to meet until after the Christmas holidays. The House met on the 23rd of January. The speech from the throne dwelt almost solely upon the treaty of navigation and commerce which had been concluded with the most Christian king. This treaty of commerce and navigation had been negotiated and finally signed at Versailles on the preceding 29th of September by Mr. Eden, who had abandoned his former political connexions to become the supporter and friend of Mr. Pitt. Hence the Whig opposition were equally inveterate against the negotiator and the treaty. In the debate upon the address, Mr. Fox censured the recent arrangements, and sounded the old trumpet of war and national hatred. He declared that all the wars of Great Britain with her neighbour had been on her part wars of necessity; and that jealousy of the power of France, which we were now called upon to lay aside, had been our safeguard and preservation. Pitt, as usual, replied to his great rival with his own mouth. His speech is memorable, as exhibiting so striking a contrast to the many speeches he delivered in after years when he was pressing for a war and general crusade against France, and when Fox was as earnestly recommending peace and good fellowship with the French republicans, who had by that time made France as powerful and dangerous as he chose to represent it now. Pitt denied the necessity or policy of a constant jealousy and animosity in regard to France, and reprobated the doctrine of our being ancient and natural foes that never could and never ought to agree. These doctrines, he contended, were opposed both by humanity

and by common sense. A treaty like the present would, he said, make it the interest of each nation to cherish and preserve friendly connexions, and would essentially tend to implicate and unite the views, conveniences, and interests of a large part of each kingdom, and so to insure the permanence of the present peace in Europe. If war was the greatest of evils, and commerce the greatest blessing that a country could enjoy, then it became the duty of those to whom public affairs were entrusted to endeavour, as much as possible, to render the one permanent and to remove the chances of the other. Subsequently, in alluding to the recent American war, he allowed that France had, at that moment of our distress, interfered in the hope of crushing us;—this was a truth over which he did not desire to throw even the slightest veil. Of that unhappy war—unhappy, yet scarcely inglorious—Pitt spoke with a lofty English feeling. "Oppressed as this nation was," said he, "during the last war by the most formidable combination for its destruction, yet had France very little to boast of at the end of the contest that should induce her again to enter deliberately into hostilities against this country. In spite of our misfortunes, our resistance must be admired, and in our defeats we gave proof of our greatness and almost inexhaustible resources, which, perhaps, success would never show us:

Duris ut ilex tonsa bipennibus,
Nigræ feraci frondis in Algido,
Per damna, per cædes, ab ipso
Ducit opes animumque ferro."

Fox rose to answer the Chancellor of the Exchequer, to repeat his condemnation of the treaty, and to assert again that France ought to be considered not only as a rival, but as a nation with whom there ought never to be any political or commercial connexion whatever. The sentiments he uttered may be considered as alien to his nature—as opinions dictated merely by his party position at the moment—yet they were uttered with every appearance of conviction and earnestness. He spoke of the

restless ambition of France, and even of the character of Louis XVI., with the greatest bitterness. He too alluded to the American war, but, though his views had once been very different, it was only to heap coals of fire on the heads of the French—to accuse them of treachery and duplicity, to point out the mean way in which they had taken advantage of our difficulties, and to revive the national animosity on that account;—and he reaffirmed that no doubt could be left on the mind of any thinking man but that the French nation was actuated by a regular, fixed, and systematic enmity to this country.

Burke, though he knew more of the science of political economy than any man then in parliament, took a prominent part against the treaty. It was, as usual, turned into a party question, and was opposed by all who were habitually in opposition to Pitt's government. Numerous petitions were got up against the treaty among our merchants and manufacturers. It is certain, however, that, as at later periods, the English had not a monopoly of all the anti-free trade notions; the French were raising a terrible clamour that the treaty would ruin their trade and manufactures. The treaty was, however, sanctioned by large majorities in both Houses of Parliament; and an excellent beginning was made to that system of reciprocity which preceded the present popular system of free-trade. After a lapse of sixty years, justice is now being rendered to Pitt's commercial treaty of 1786; and the arguments which he used in support of the measure are now daily repeated by all such as hope to maintain the peace of Europe, by promoting friendly commercial relations with France. It was not Mr. Pitt's fault that his grand scheme was so soon interrupted by the French Revolution.

Much time was occupied during this session of Parliament by discussions on the Prince of Wales's debts and his alleged marriage with Mrs. Fitzherbert. The Whigs, who now considered the Prince as one of their party, increased their unpopularity by the course they pursued in these matters. Sheridan, who was ready to do whatever the Prince asked him, and to perform offices

which no man of honour would undertake, greatly damaged a character which stood before in want of repair. In the end it was determined that there was, and could be, no marriage between the Prince and Mrs. Fitzherbert; 161,000*l.* were paid out of the Civil List to pay the Prince's debts, and a further sum of 20,000*l.* on account of the works at Carlton House. The man had a face of bronze, and an amount of cunning and impudence never surpassed; but during the session Philip Francis, while displaying his implacable hostility to Warren Hastings, was covered with confusion, and would have fallen into contempt if he had not been supported by Burke and the whole phalanx of opposition. He was asked by what means he had acquired so great a fortune in so short a time; and it was proclaimed by men who were conversant with all the facts, that his ambition and avarice were seeking their gratification as well as his revenge. On Wednesday, the 30th of May, the king prorogued Parliament in person, with a gracious speech, that dwelt principally upon the unhappy dissensions which prevailed in the United Provinces, which, as a friend to the republic, he could not see without deep concern.

These Dutch troubles had, indeed, reached a terrible height, and insults had been offered, offensive to all the royalty of Europe. After the complete failure of the negotiations between Baron Goertz, the Prussian, and Rayneval, the French minister, and after the state of Holland had collected an army on its frontier, the Senate of Amsterdam gave strong indications of favouring the cause of the Prince of Orange; and shortly after the States-General and the Council of State for the Seven Provinces, a body of the highest dignity, being alarmed at a coalition on the part of the aristocrats with the burghers, declared openly in favour of the Stadtholder. The Orangists then threatened to reduce the city of Utrecht by force of arms; and the Council of State for the Seven Provinces passed a resolution forbidding the marching of any troops from any of the other provinces without consent of the States-General or the Council of State. At this critical moment, and while blood was

shedding in skirmishes or paltry contests between the Orangists and the democrats of Utrecht, the Princess of Orange set off for the Hague accompanied only by Count Bentinck and a few attendants, with a view of negotiating with the leaders of parties there. The princess had advanced on her journey as far as Schoonhoven, on the borders of Holland, when her carriage was surrounded by a party of armed burghers, who were soon joined by a detachment of light horse, whose commander, the Prince of Hesse Philipstal, had gone over to the Stadtholder, like nearly all the officers of rank in the Seven Provinces. The light horse were now under the command of a rough burgher, the captain of the free corps. This man treated the princess with great rudeness, refused to let her continue her journey, and kept her stopped for some time upon a narrow road with a canal running on either side of it. At last that proud and irritated woman submitted to be conducted back to a small town, there to await the further will of those who governed the democratic party. She was shut up in the room of an inn, while one of the burgher guards, stationed at the outside of the door, swilled his beer and smoked his pipes remorselessly. After some hours, commissioners arrived from the head-quarters of the democrats. They behaved more like gentlemen, but they positively refused to permit the princess to continue her journey to the Hague, and recommended her, as the day was spent, and as accommodations were bad at the place she was in, to choose some neighbouring town where she might pass the night. She named Gouda as the nearest. They objected to that place, as they were not quite sure of its politics, and were rather apprehensive that the arrival of the princess as a prisoner might provoke an insurrection unfavourable to their cause. At last it was agreed that she should pass the night in the town of Schoonhoven; and thither she was conveyed to all intents a prisoner. Upon her first detention the princess had dispatched letters or messengers to her husband the Stadtholder, and also to the grand pensionary, who still was in possession of some power, though over-ridden by the

contending factions, who were all furious to a degree little short of madness, who had all their clubs, combinations, and volunteers.

The princess, receiving no answers, after staying at Schoonhoven two nights and a day, set out, on the morning of the 30th, on her forced return to Nimeguen, being escorted part of the way by one of the commissioners and a troop of horse. On the road she met messengers from the Stadtholder, who had remained quietly at Nimeguen all the time, merely despatching a letter to the States-General to claim their interference for the liberation of the princess, as well as for satisfaction for the insult which had been offered. The States-General, who might be considered at the moment in a state of war with the democratic party, had not had the power to prevent the insult, nor had they now the power to give satisfaction for it, or avenge it. It was true that a large part of the army, and even of the forces drawn up in cordon on the frontiers of the state of Holland, had declared for the Stadtholder, and would have obeyed any orders of the States-General, but unassisted, they were hardly in a condition to redress the grievances of the Princess of Orange, who, boiling with indignation, applied to her brother, Frederick William. It is extremely doubtful whether, even without this last provocation, the new King of Prussia would not have interfered in the affairs of the United Provinces; but, on receiving the letters of the Princess of Orange, he set no bounds to his rage and indignation. His majesty, on the 10th of July, transmitted a strong memorial to the States of Holland. In sending off this memorial, Frederick William sent for the Duke of Brunswick, now the commander-in-chief of the army which had been organised and left by Frederick the Great—an army regarded, traditionally, with respect and awe by all the continent of Europe. The States of Holland, obeying the democratic impulse, and cherishing a confident hope that the French, who had led them on, would not abandon their cause, or ever permit the Prussians to overrun the Netherlands, passed a resolution justifying and approving the conduct of their commis-

sioners in the arrest of the Princess of Orange. At the same time the States-General, who claimed and who had formerly been allowed a superior authority over Holland and all the rest of the Seven United Provinces, sent a very different paper to the King of Prussia, deploring what had happened, and stating that they had made repeated applications to the States of Holland upon this unfortunate affair; and that, since the States of Holland had disregarded these applications, they must be left to abide the consequences, without expecting favour or protection from the States-General. In the month of August Frederick William sent another memorial to "their noble and grand powers" the States of Holland and West Friesland. This was followed by a note from the Prussian ambassador at the Hague, specifying the degree of satisfaction the king required. The terms were very humiliating. The republican pride was deeply wounded; but pride was unsupported by strength; and, so far were the democratic party from being in a condition to resist a great Prussian army, that they could scarcely keep down the Orangists within their own towns and territories. And now events had happened which ought to have made them despair of French assistance. Still, however, they relied, if not on the court of Versailles, on a stirring part of the French nation, and they resolved to make a stand for their dignity; as the first step towards which, they issued their orders for laying the whole country under water the moment any Prussian troops should make their appearance on the frontiers of the republic. In the mean time the Duke of Brunswick held councils of war and collected troops on the frontiers of the Duchy of Cleves, which belongs to Prussia and borders the territories of the United Provinces: and the Prince of Orange succeeded in capturing the strongly fortified town of Wick, in the province of Utrecht, a place in every way important, and situated within twenty-four miles of Amsterdam; as also in taking Harderwick, a town of Guelderland, advantageously situated on the Zuyder Sea; and the whole province of Zealand declared almost unanimously in favour of the Stadtholder, who ad-

vanced with his army towards the city of Utrecht. While the democrats had been looking to France, the Orangists had been again applying for the mediation or assistance of the King of England, who was himself not distantly related both to the Prince and Princess of Orange, and who had, during the American war, several strong reasons for regarding with hostility the party which had brought Holland into the confederacy against him. In the middle of August Sir James Harris, the British ambassador at the Hague, presented a memorial to their high mightinesses the States-General, deploring the continuation of discord and troubles which threatened the most grievous consequences to all the provinces; mentioning how often his Britannic Majesty had shown himself "a good friend and neighbour of the republic," and how often he had endeavoured to co-operate in re-establishing peace among them; and further mentioning that the States of Zealand and Friesland had declared their disposition to ask the mediation of some neighbouring powers. This note signified very little, for their high mightinesses had an exceedingly small power, and having identified themselves with the Orangists, they could scarcely look to any other issue than that of arms. The democrats applied to France more earnestly than ever, not for mediation, but for armies, or, at the very least, for an army to be stationed along the northern frontier of France to overawe the Prussians. But the French government, without money, without credit, agitated and absorbed by its own affairs—for the great revolution had, in fact, begun—could do nothing. The Marshal de Segur, then minister of war, did indeed represent the danger and disgrace there would be in permitting the invasion of Holland, and the necessity there was for forming a camp at Givet; but the minister of finance shuffled off the decision in council from day to day, and could not find, in time, the necessary funds.* It is possible that the democrats of Holland, who had begun their contest three or four years too soon, were deceived by French promises; for, though they could

* Count Segur, Memoir of Frederick William.

hear of no armament or assembling of troops in French Flanders, and though they must have known that from 60,000 to 70,000 Prussians were in the duchy of Cleves, with 140,000 veteran troops behind them, they kept up a very high and insolent tone. The military hero of this party, whose views were as extreme as any that were shown four years later by the French republicans, was no less a personage than the Rhingrave of Salm, a younger brother of the reigning prince of that House, who had about him a considerable number of Frenchmen, some officers seeking employment not to be found under their own government, some enthusiastic republicans of honest zeal and gentlemanly character, and a great many more propagandists of a lower description—adventurers and desperadoes who might have boasted, in their own persons, a real *sansculottism*. The result was not the same, but some of these French had assisted in arresting and insulting the Princess of Orange, as if they were rehearsing for the sad drama that was afterwards played at Varennes. After denouncing the Stadtholder, the democrats declared it to be a high crime and misdemeanour to wear the orange colours; and they openly hanged two men in the streets for this kind of treason against the sovereign people. These proceedings of Dutch democrats have been overlooked and swallowed up in the grander revolution and triumph of Jacobinism which followed so immediately after; but a close inspection would show how near a resemblance, *en petit*, there was between the democracy of Holland and the democracy of France. At last, having obtained encouraging assurances from the English court, Frederick William gave his orders to march; and on the 13th of September the Duke of Brunswick quitted the duchy of Cleves and entered Guelderland with 30,000 men, divided into three columns.

On the 17th the duke bombarded the town of Gorcum, which held out the white flag almost immediately, and surrendered without the loss of a life on either side. The greater part of the inhabitants put on the orange ribands, and welcomed the duke as their deliverer from anarchy.

Shortly after the surrender the duke's adjutant-general, at the head of seven Prussian hussars, brought in as prisoners a whole troop of Dutchmen who had been interrupted in their attempt to open the sluices in order to lay the country under water, and who had surrendered in a panic without firing a musket. As the Prussian columns intersected the country, and their detachments of light troops and cavalry showed themselves in all directions, their numbers were magnified by fear, and the Dutchmen were made to believe that the entire forces of the Prussian monarch were upon them: they fled from post to post, abandoning town after town, and not a few of them throwing away their arms and mounting the Orange cockade. Some of the fugitives committed sad excesses in plundering and burning the houses of the Orangists. Several villages were reduced to ashes, and the blame was laid on the Prussians. Each of the three columns advanced unopposed; Nieuport, Schoonhoven, Dort, Leyden, Haarlem, Rotterdam itself, surrendered without firing a gun; the Rhingrave of Salm, with his French staff and rabble army, fled from Utrecht to Amsterdam. The *débâcle* was universal. The waters upon which they had counted were low in most places, so that the country could not be flooded; and in most parts where the waters were higher, or the country lower, the sluice-breakers were prevented by the inhabitants or by the Prussians, who moved rapidly along the chief canals and ditches. The little army of the Stadtholder, first collected at Amersford, had grown great by the junction of volunteers; the three Prussian columns were concentrating round Amsterdam, where not only the Dutch gentry, but a great part of the populace, were enthusiastic Orangists; there was no sign of succour from France; the people at the Hague, assisted by some Swiss soldiers who had formerly composed the prince's state-guard, rose upon the republican volunteers, drove them out of the city or made them prisoners, and decorated the town, like a bride, with orange flowers and orange-coloured silks. It was clear that the game was up. On the 25th of September, less than a fortnight

after the frontiers had been crossed, a deputation from Amsterdam repaired to the Duke of Brunswick's head-quarters to solicit an accommodation. The duke granted a short truce, and the business of negotiation was transferred to the Hague, where the Prince of Orange had been received in triumph and with every demonstration of joy several days before. On the 30th of September the truce expired, and, as the negotiators had come to no conclusion or agreement, the Duke of Brunswick recommenced hostilities by making an attack on Amstelveen, which commanded some of the approaches to Amsterdam, which was abundantly provided with artillery and artillerymen, mostly French, which was strong by art, and still stronger from its situation in the midst of swamps and waters. But an English officer, serving as a volunteer under the Duke of Brunswick, crossing the Haarlem Meer in an open boat, examined the nature of the ground at the back of the fort and lying between it and Amsterdam. Nearly at the same moment in which this detachment established themselves in the rear of the fort, the Duke of Brunswick made an attack in front, advancing along a narrow dyke with deep water on either side. Here there was some fighting, for the Frenchmen stood to their guns; but in the course of the night and the following morning the batteries were all taken, and Amstelveen was occupied by the Prussians, who had lost four officers and two or three hundred men. The prevailing authorities in Amsterdam now sent another deputation to the Duke of Brunswick, who was erecting batteries to bombard their city. The terms these deputies proposed were inadmissible. The duke sent back the deputies, seized the suburb of Overtoom, fixed his head-quarters there, and continued his preparations both for a storm and bombardment. The Amsterdamers dispatched with all speed deputies to join a general deputation from the provinces, which had met in the mean time at the Hague, and there concluded a treaty with the Prince of Orange. The Amsterdam deputies acceded to the conditions proposed to them; and on the 10th of October the keys of the Leyden gate

were surrendered to the Duke of Brunswick. The result of the whole sad turmoil was, that the Stadtholder was reinstated in all his rights and prerogatives, and allowed to assume powers which had not before belonged to his office; and that the defeated party remained sullen, discontented, vindictive, and ripe for another insurrection whenever an opportunity should offer. This opportunity occurred sooner than might have been expected; and when the French republicans invaded the United Provinces their progress was as much favoured by the democrats as the advance of the Prussians had been helped by the Orangists.

Although the French government, for the strong reasons already stated, had formed no camp at Givet, they took an early opportunity of remonstrating with the cabinets of Berlin and St. James's; they threatened and they blustered, and there was a great parade about fitting out the Brest fleet. Pitt and Dundas got a good English fleet ready in earnest, and replied to the diplomatic notes in a very decided tone, intimating that England was not going to take any active part in the contest, and that France should not, unless she were prepared for a declaration of war.

While the Dutch were engaged in the struggles to decide upon principles of government, their neighbours in the Austrian Netherlands (the fine country now called Belgium) were engaged in insurrections against their emperor about forms of law and forms of faith. Joseph II., who had commenced his reign as a reformer, and who had committed the great mistake of reforming too rapidly and absolutely, without sufficient attention to the prejudices of his subjects, had created great dissatisfaction among the devout or superstitious Netherlanders by suppressing monasteries, expelling monks, and interfering in other matters. That people also retained an unpleasant recollection of their baffled hopes on the subject of the free navigation of the Scheldt—hopes which Joseph had raised and then blighted with the volatility of a schoolboy. The spirit of discontent was encouraged, not merely by the monastic order, which probably was

most influential on the poorer classes and the peasantry, but by the whole body of the clergy, who do not always make common cause with the monks, but who, not knowing how far the emperor might extend his reforming processes, trembled for their own wealth and possessions, which, collectively, included a very large portion of the riches of that fat and plentiful land. The public mind was in this state when the emperor promulgated, on the 1st of January, 1787, certain edicts of a most sweeping kind, annihilating what was left of the old municipal liberty, changing and new modelling the courts of judicature, and, in fact, establishing an entirely new form of law and government, in direct contravention of the compact made by the emperor Charles V., and called the "Joyous Entry." The states of Brabant took the lead in a determined opposition to these measures; they were soon joined by the states of Flanders and Hainault, and in a very brief space of time the spirit of resistance manifested itself in all the fine, antiquated, and picturesque towns that so thickly dot the surface of that exuberant country. It appeared as if Philip van Arteveldt, the brewer of Ghent, had risen from his grave to teach the burghers and peasants how to beard kings and defy the chivalry of Europe. And yet, as if there were not already sufficient causes for discontent and universal excitement, the emperor chose this very moment for trying a fresh innovation. The university of Louvain, in Brabant, which had once been among the foremost schools of learning in Europe, was rather ancient, and so proud of its antiquity, that it seemed to consider it an article of faith to revere and pertinaciously defend everything in it and about it that was old.* In this spirit it had retained all the nonsense of the old schools, still teaching philosophy and divinity as they were taught in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and still clinging to the most extravagant notions and pretensions of the Papal see. Perhaps, without even excepting Salamanca, there was not a

* The university of Louvain was founded A.D. 1426, by John, fourth Duke of Brabant

university in Europe that more required new light through "chinks which time had made," or that more called for improvement and renovation. It had sat for ages like a huge nightmare on the breast of Flanders and Brabant; and, perhaps, its effects are not yet obliterated from the popular intellect. But a reform, to be efficacious, ought to have been mild and gradual; professors and pupils, doctors and masters of art, ought to have been weaned from their old opinions before new ones were imposed upon them by edicts from the Aulic council at Vienna; and it was irrational and unseemly in the Emperor Joseph to pretend to force a better philosophy and a more tolerant theology down men's throats by swords and bayonets, by Pandours, Croats, Hungarian hussars, and native-bred Austrian grenadiers, who had not been hitherto considered anywhere as proper teachers of the Baconian and Newtonian philosophies. Regardless of the *odium theologicum*, which an old proverb would have told him was the sharpest of all hatreds, Joseph began with theology first, resenting probably the promulgation of university opinions which confirmed the people in their belief that in suppressing rich monasteries, and thereby putting some millions of florins in his treasury, he had been guilty of robbery and sacrilege. By a stroke of his imperial pen he suppressed all the colleges in which theology was exclusively taught, turned off the old professors, who were chiefly monks, and established a new seminary, in which divinity was to be taught thenceforth, not according to St. Thomas Aquinas and the old fathers of the Romish church, but according to Joseph II., by the divine grace Emperor of Germany, Duke of Austria, &c. &c.

The states of Brabant, being convened at Brussels in the month of April, took cognizance of all these acts of oppression; refused the customary subsidies to the emperor, declaring that they would not vote them until their grievances should be redressed; issued orders to the collectors and receivers of the public revenues to pay no more money into the exchequer; presented a startling remonstrance to the governor; and declared that

they would resolutely defend their laws and their religion. In Holland it had been a mad contention between party and party: but here there was but one party and one spirit; and we cannot consider the Flemings, fanatic as might be their theology or murky as might be their philosophy, as entitled to less respect than the republican faction in Holland. The states of Flanders and of Hainault would not be left behind by the states of Brabant. The Flanders body declared that there were mutual relations and obligations between subjects and sovereigns, and that they would vote no subsidies till the emperor revoked his edicts and mended all that had been done amiss or contrary to their privileges. Belgioso, the governor-general or viceroy, a nobleman from Milan, was perplexed and petrified at Brussels; the members of the Austrian cabinet were petrified at Vienna, by this unheard of audacity; the emperor was petrified at Cherson, on the Black Sea, whither he had gone to meet the Tzarina Catherine, in order to arrange with her the conquest and partition of the Turkish empire;—they were all petrified. And when they quitted this state of being, it was to order the collecting and marching of troops towards the Netherlands. But the whole disposable force of Austria was wanted, through Joseph's new schemes, on the Danube, and he was thinking more of Constantinople than of Brussels. The march, too, was long, and not unattended with difficulties; for the Netherlands were wholly detached from the other dominions of the emperor, so that the territories of other princes had to be traversed. But, before a courier could go and return from Cherson, the governor, who had very few troops of any kind, saw the necessity of yielding to the determined will of the people; and he suspended, until the further will of the sovereign should be known, a variety of obnoxious orders and regulations. This produced a jubilee throughout the Low Countries, and for some short time no doubt seemed to be entertained as to the sovereign's ratification. But news from Vienna, and a letter from Prince Kaunitz, the emperor's prime minister, awoke suspicion and

alarm, and the people began to enrol themselves and to practise military exercises, in order to maintain the decree, if necessary, by arms. At Brussels and in all the principal towns the respectable inhabitants formed themselves into volunteer companies, and equipped themselves with uniforms and cockades. Early in July, Joseph returned to Vienna, and instead of a ratification he despatched to the Netherlands an angry mandate, expressing his astonishment and indignation at the intemperate and violent measures which the states had adopted, and demanding and requiring them to send deputies to Vienna. A deputation was appointed, respectful but strong representations were drawn up by the several states, and towards the end of July the deputies took the road to Vienna. They were not far advanced in their journey ere they were alarmed by rumours that a mighty army was about to march into the Low Countries; that the princes of the empire whose territories intervened had already granted the promise of a free passage to the Imperial troops; and that the regiment of Bender, making forced marches, was already close upon the frontiers of Luxembourg. The last part of the rumour was perfectly correct, and it seemed to authenticate the rest. The deputies continued their journey with doubt and dread; the volunteer corps at home drilled and exercised more than ever; and at this moment certain applications were made or repeated to the French court for aid and assistance. Count Murray, a gentleman of Scotch descent, now held the chief authority at Brussels, for the Count Belgioso had been summoned to Vienna. Murray sent a message to the states of Brabant acquainting them that, if they would permit the regiment of Bender to enter the provinces, the march of an Imperial army might be suspended. The states, who had little to fear from a single regiment, submitted to this test of obedience. On the 15th of August, when the deputies had been three days at Vienna, they were admitted to an audience. The emperor's countenance was severe and his manner ungracious. He told them that his states in the Nether-

lands had been guilty of high offences, that they had insulted their sovereign and defied his authority, and that nothing but his own moderation and affection for them had prevented the immediate employment of military force. The deputies were further told that their complaints could not be listened to until certain preliminary articles should be executed.

When the articles were communicated to the states by Count Murray, they were rejected almost unanimously; and the volunteers continued exercising. But when the march of the grand army was expected, fresh advices were received from the deputies at Vienna, who informed the states that his Imperial majesty had since admitted them to several private conferences, had listened to their complaints and representations with marked kindness and attention, and assured them that he had meant no harm, and was well disposed to restore the charter of the Joyous Entry to its primitive vigour. It was a good wind for the Flemings and Brabanters that blew the emperor to the shores of the Black Sea, as, but for the arrangements he had entered into with the Empress Catherine, the whole or part of the army of 100,000 men, which were marched soon after this to the Danube, would have been sent into the Netherlands. As matters went, the states and the people enjoyed a complete triumph over their sovereign. They refused to execute the emperor's articles even after they had been materially qualified; but, as the danger seemed over, the volunteers consented to lay down their arms by a given day. When that day arrived—the 20th of September—a quarrel arose between the volunteers in Brussels and the regular troops that garrisoned the city for the emperor, and several shots were fired and returned. The people ran to take part with the volunteers, and some companies of regulars that were quartered in the suburbs ran to support their comrades. The cry was spread that the emperor's troops were acting on a concerted scheme, and were aiming at nothing less than the slaughter of the good citizens and the enforcement of all the suspended edicts. The excitement was terrible: the pavements of the streets were torn up, and the stones were carried to

upper windows and to the tops of the houses to overwhelm the soldiery. The peasants from all the country round about Brussels trooped into the town armed with clubs, scythes, and other rustic implements. A considerable quantity of blood was spilt, and a great deal more must have flowed, if Count Murray had been a less wise or less brave man. But Murray went from house to house showing to the respectable inhabitants how perfectly unfounded were their apprehensions, and how small the numbers of the regular troops; he walked through the streets though bullets and paving stones were flying about; he reasoned with the volunteers, got the regulars into the barracks, and finally succeeded in restoring tranquillity. Captivated by this temperate and wise conduct, and by the firmness and moderation of his views, the states voted the subsidies, and the volunteers laid by their arms and uniforms a few days after; and thereupon Count Murray published the emperor's declaration, that the fundamental laws of the provinces should all be preserved entire according to the tenor of the Joyous Entry. If Joseph II. had been studying to show how governments may be sunk into contempt and sovereignties overthrown, he could not have given a better demonstration than that which was afforded by the course and the termination of these affairs. We shall find presently, indeed, that the apparent termination was only a suspension of the contest. In England it was, however, considered expedient to reassemble parliament much earlier than had been usual for some years past; and it met on the 27th of November. The speech from the throne opened with the same subject with which the speech at the last prorogation had closed—"the unhappy differences subsisting in the republic of the United Provinces." The speech announced that commerce and revenue were in a flourishing state, and that the country was likely to continue in the enjoyment of the blessings of peace, &c.; his majesty at the same time regretting that the tranquillity of one part of Europe was unhappily interrupted, as war had broken out between Russia and the Porte. In the debate on the address in the Commons, Lord Fielding, after expressing his approbation of what had been

done by ministers, intimated a doubt whether they had not missed a favourable opportunity for insisting on the demolition of the stupendous works that were carrying on at Cherbourg. Fox followed Lord Fielding: he gave his fullest approbation to the energetic conduct of ministers in preventing France from interfering in the affairs of Holland; and he declared that he was invariably of opinion—that it was a fixed and unalterable maxim with him—that this country ought, whenever occasion required, to take an active and vigorous part in preserving the balance of power in Europe. He called the revolution which had been effected in Holland by Prussian arms "the restoration of the independence of the United Provinces." Pitt expressed his satisfaction at the unanimity which prevailed in the House upon these subjects.

A.D. 1788.—Since the beginning of the present reign several petitions had been presented to parliament against the slave-trade altogether, or for a more humane treatment of the unfortunate Africans that were made slaves and carried to the West India Islands. In England, as in America, the Society of Friends had taken the first step in this direction: but they had been followed by Englishmen of all sects and classes: the subject had been taken up by orators, popular poets, and other writers; and, by degrees, a strong feeling, wide and general enough to be called a national feeling, had been created on the subject. Mr. Ramsay had published his 'Essay on the Treatment of and Traffic in Slaves,' which had made a great sensation; Mr. Thomas Clarkson had published his 'Essay on the Slavery of the Human Species,' which had made a still deeper impression; and Mr. Wilberforce, encouraged and aided by many warm religious friends, had determined to devote his parliamentary life to this one great subject. "God Almighty," says the devout orator in his private journal, "had set before me two great objects—the suppression of the slave-trade and the reformation of manners."* A society of twelve

* Journal, as quoted in Life by his sons. The date of the entry is October the 28th, 1787.

opulent London merchants and bankers, including the excellent Thornton, and having for their chairman the philanthropic Granville Sharpe, had formed themselves into a committee, and had adopted measures in order to raise funds and collect the information necessary. The society had increased rapidly, and committees had been established or subscriptions raised in Manchester and other great towns. With thirty petitions lying on the table, Pitt was induced to consent to issue, in the month of February of the present year, a summons to certain members of the privy council, to examine, as a board of trade, the state of our commercial intercourse with Africa. The first witnesses heard by the privy council were some whom the African merchants had deputed, and who endeavoured to prove not only the absolute necessity, but the absolute humanity of the slave-trade. Counter evidence was procured by Granville Sharpe and the London committee, it having been previously determined that the London committee should alone appear, whilst the leaders of the cause should direct their movements for a while in secrecy.* Wilberforce, however, undertook to bring forward a motion in the House of Commons in this session. As he was member for one of the greatest counties in the kingdom, the known close friend of the prime minister, an admirable speaker, and a man universally esteemed, the matter could scarcely be in better hands, nor could a better beginning have been easily made. But Wilberforce fell ill, retired to Bath, and left the motion to be made by the premier, who was solicited thereto not merely by his friend, but by Granville Sharpe and the London committee. It was on the 9th of May that Pitt rose in his place, and, after mentioning the bad state of health of his friend, moved the following resolution—"That this House will, early in the next session of parliament, proceed to take into consideration the circumstances of the slave-trade complained of in the petitions presented to the House, and what may be fit to be done there-

* Letter from Sir Charles Middleton, as cited in Life of Wilberforce.

upon." He added, that before the next session the inquiry instituted by the privy council would be brought to such a state of maturity as to facilitate the investigation, and enable the House to proceed to a decision, founded equally upon principles of humanity, justice, and policy. Burke, who, it is said, had thought of taking up the subject of the slave-trade eight years before, expressed his regret at the delay now proposed; and Fox exclaimed that he had almost made up his mind to immediate abolition. Sir William Dolben called the attention of the House, not to the sufferings of the negroes on the African coast, nor to their sufferings from the planters in the West India Islands, but to that intermediate state of tenfold misery which they suffered on their voyage from the coast to the West Indies. This, he said, called for an immediate remedy; for if they waited till the beginning of the next session, an average of ten thousand lives would be sacrificed before, in close and horrid slave-ships! He wished, therefore, that this part of the subject should be taken into consideration instantly; and that some regulations should be adopted for restraining the captains from taking above a certain number of slaves on board, according to the size of their vessels, and for obliging them to let in fresh air and provide better accommodations for the slaves during their passage. Pitt's resolution was agreed to; and, on the 21st of May, Sir William Dolben moved for leave to bring in a bill for the better regulation of the transportation of slaves. One of the most important regulations he proposed was, that no ship should be allowed to carry more than one slave to each ton of her burden or register, or that a ship of 250 tons should carry 250 slaves, a ship of 300 tons 300 slaves, and no more.

On the 26th of May a petition was presented from the merchants and other inhabitants of the town of Liverpool, stating that the suppression of the slave-trade would be attended with consequences little short of ruin to many of the petitioners, who, under the faith of parliament, had embarked in the trade and invested their whole property therein; that it would be highly inju-

rious to the interests and public revenues of this country, and operate as an effectual bar to future commercial emulation and enterprise; and praying to be heard by counsel against the abolition or restriction of the trade, before any resolutions or bill should be passed. Accordingly, on the 2nd of June, counsel were heard at the bar of the House. These learned gentlemen, as instructed by their clients, endeavoured to prove that even Sir William Dolben's bill would be ruinous to Liverpool; and that the regulation of the number of slaves allowed to be put on board each vessel in proportion to its tonnage would of itself prove the ruin of the slave-trade and of all engaged in it. They produced their witnesses to speak to this effect, and to prove that the captains of the ships ought to be the proper judges as to what amount of living human cargo they could cram into their vessels. But the only effect of the arguments and evidence was, that the House was induced to allow, instead of one ton to each slave, three tons to every five slaves. (Within a few years these unwisely cruel slave-merchants of Liverpool were compelled to confess that this forced sacrifice to humanity had actually increased their profits by decreasing the rate of mortality on the voyage from what it had been in their crammed and foul old ships.) Sir William Dolben's bill, being carried by considerable majorities through the House of Commons, was taken up to the Lords on the 10th of June. There it was vehemently opposed by Admiral Lord Rodney, who was a good and humane man, by Lord Chancellor Thurlow, who was neither humane nor good, and by several other peers. Their lordships passed the bill, but introduced several amendments, which were considered as spoiling its spirit, and as trenching on the privileges of the Lower House. The Commons therefore passed a new bill with the utmost possible rapidity, and sent it up to the Lords, who finally concurred, though by a reduced majority. The bill received the royal assent on the 11th of July. It was an immediate and important benefit to the English sailors engaged in the slave-ships, and to the poor Africans that remained to be transported year after

year to the Western World; and the victory obtained served as an encouragement to Ramsay, Clarkson, Wilberforce, Granville Sharpe, Thornton, and the other active friends of the blacks, whose numbers and whose means continued to increase rapidly.

On the 11th of July the king in person prorogued parliament. The speech from the throne mentioned that the Emperor of Germany had joined the Empress of Russia in the war against the Sultan; and also that his majesty had entered into treaties with his good brother the King of Prussia and with the States-General of the United Provinces, which he hoped would be productive of the happiest consequences.

The king appeared to be in his usual robust state of health; but some weeks after the prorogation it was rumoured that he was unwell, and that he had gone to Cheltenham by the advice of his physicians. At that pleasant sojourn his majesty was seen much abroad; but in the autumn, when he returned to Kew, he almost disappeared entirely from the public eye, and mysterious whispers got into circulation abroad that his mind was deranged. The belief was confirmed by his not holding the usual drawing-rooms at St. James's. As if to remove the impression, a drawing-room was held on the 24th of October; but the king's manner and conversation only confirmed the suspicion in those who approached him. When the court broke up, Pitt attended him in the closet. It is said that the minister clearly perceived the unhappy condition of the sovereign, and was deeply affected by it: but if this were the case, Pitt certainly took no notice of it at the time; and the next day the king was allowed to leave London for Windsor as if he were sane and well. Great pains were taken, and had evidently been taken for some time previously, by the queen and the household to conceal the dreadful malady; but the secret could not be kept long, and the sufferer himself had a fearful glimpse of the worse which was to follow. On the 5th of November he mounted his horse and rode wildly about the forest and the country round Windsor for five hours, and, meeting his second son, the

Duke of York, who had recently returned from Germany, he burst into tears and said, "He hoped he should die, for he was going to be mad!"* That night the king was in a maniac state, and the madness was accompanied by a bilious fever, from which, for several days, his life was despaired of as well as his reason. The Prince of Wales joined his brother the Duke of York at Windsor, and Pitt, as prime minister, and Thurlow, as chancellor, made journeys thither to devise what should be done in case the sovereign should recover from the fever but not from the madness. It is said that Pitt paid assiduous court to the queen, assuring her of a proper share of authority in case it should be necessary to appoint a regency; and that Thurlow, as soon as he conceived the king's malady to be incurable, paid the same sort of court, but more secretly, to the Prince of Wales. There had never been much harmony between the chancellor and the premier,† and the disgrace of abandoning and betraying his official colleagues was a trifle in the eyes of Thurlow if thereby he should be enabled to preserve his post under the regency and keep the great seal from the eager clutch of his rival, Lord Loughborough, who was now putting himself forward as the chief adviser of the prince.

Fox was absent on the Continent, but his return was daily expected and most anxiously looked for by the Whig party. As parliament stood prorogued for the 20th of November, and as there was now no voice com-

* Letter to Sheridan from Captain Payne, in Moore's Life of Sheridan.

† "Their tempers were indeed ill suited to co-operate for a length of time, though necessity and ambition had united them against Fox. Thurlow was sullen, and often intractable; Pitt, imperious, inflexible, and dictatorial. Many causes had combined to widen the breach."—*Sir N. W. Wraxall's Posthumous Memoirs.* But Thurlow, who, with all his roughness, was one of the greatest dissemblers that ever lived, would certainly have continued to act as Pitt's steady friend, but for his convictions that the king would not recover, and that Fox would be prime minister under the Prince of Wales.

petent to prorogue it again to a more distant day, it was resolved to assemble a full cabinet council at Windsor to consider of the measures which might be required in so unprecedented a conjuncture. The council met, and Thurlow, who by possessing the great seal had in a manner all the sovereignty that was left in the land, took a part in the deliberations without revealing his plans or intentions. The physicians were examined, and their report convinced Thurlow that the king would never again be capable of holding the reins of government. When the anxious consultation was ended and the council broke up, Lord Camden asked the chancellor if he would accompany him back to town. Thurlow excused himself, saying he had a friend at Windsor, to whom he wished to pay a visit. Lord Camden's suspicions were excited, and he contrived to learn that Thurlow's friend at Windsor was no other than the Prince of Wales, to whom he no doubt communicated all that had passed in the council. During the sharp political contest which followed, Thurlow was discovered to have been several times closeted with Sheridan, and once, at least, in the house of Mrs. Fitzherbert.

On the 20th of November the two Houses of Parliament assembled pursuant to the prorogation; but as there was no authority for opening the session, the Lords and the Commons remained in their respective chambers. In the Upper House the lord chancellor notified the cause—the malady of the king—of parliament being allowed to assemble without the usual forty days' notice and summons to meet for the despatch of business; and then Earl Camden, the lord president of the council, after stating that he had found no instance in which either House of Parliament had proceeded to business until the session had been opened in the usual form, moved that the House should adjourn to the 4th of December. Pitt made the same announcement in the Lower House, and both Houses adjourned for a fortnight. Days, and nights too, were spent in deliberation and in active intrigue; and the varying opinions of the physicians gave rise to great perplexity and indecision in the

minds of calculating politicians. Fox, though he travelled homeward with extraordinary speed, did not arrive until the end of November.

On the 4th of December parliament reassembled, and both Houses were full, for ministers had issued circulars to their friends, and the heads of opposition had done the same; and without any of these summonses there would have been a full attendance. Men of all parties had hurried up to town on learning the nature of the king's disorder; and from the middle of November London had been crowded and excited to an unusual degree. In the Peers Lord Camden announced that the continuance of the king's illness rendered him incapable of meeting his parliament, and that all the other functions of government were thereby suspended. His lordship then declared it to be his opinion that, in this dismembered state of the legislature, the right devolved on the two Houses of Parliament to make such provisions for supplying the defect as should be adequate to the necessity of the case; but that it was necessary, before any step could be taken in so delicate a business, that the deficiency should be fully ascertained. With this view his lordship moved that the minutes of the privy council taken in examining the physicians should be read, and that, that being done, they should be taken into consideration on Monday the 8th of December. In the Commons precisely the same course was pursued by Pitt, who now saw his rival Fox, seated in his usual place on the opposition benches, but presenting an appearance that was anything rather than joyous or exultant. From the fatigue he had undergone in his rapid journey, and from other causes wherein the mind was probably more concerned than the body, Fox looked dispirited, haggard, and worn. The speaker intimated his doubt whether in the present defective state of parliament he could issue writs for new elections to supply the places of some members who had died during the recess. It was determined that the speaker was competent to issue the writs; and then the House adjourned for four days. During that interval, the private in-

formation Pitt received from *some* of the physicians (for even the medical camp was divided into Whigs and Tories, or Foxites and Pittites*), induced him to believe the king would recover. As soon as the House met, on the 8th, he rose and proposed that a committee of twenty-one members should be appointed to examine *all* the physicians. Fox was not present—it was said he was too ill to attend—but Burke, who appears to have been but little consulted by the prince or his party, adjured the House not to sacrifice any of their constitutional privileges at this crisis, and least of all the right to examine evidence at their own bar. Pitt's motion was carried without a division, and the committee of twenty-one was appointed, with himself as their chairman. On the same evening the Marquess of Stafford made a similar motion in the Upper House, and a committee of peers was appointed for the same purpose. All this time Thurlow, who might have been expected to do the work which Stafford and Camden had done, remained inactive and silent. His object still was to avoid committing himself with either party until he should be able more accurately to calculate the chances of the king's recovery; but his conduct excited suspicion and disgust. The unfortunate king was now removed from Windsor to Kew, and placed more immediately under the care of Doctor Willis. On the 10th of December Pitt, as chairman of

* "As men are naturally led to take the direction of their wishes, the physicians who were friendly to the opposition confidently predicted that there was no hope of the king's recovery. Dr. Warren, especially, was the chief authority on this side; and his and the prince's adherents set themselves in direct opposition to the Willises, who with equal confidence predicted the king's recovery. The language on the one side was, that, if a regency should once be established, the king would never be suffered again to resume his authority; that of the other, that ministers were resolved at all hazards to restore him to his power, and the Willises were said to be the supporters of the plot."—*Wilberforce, Memoranda.*

the committee of the Commons, presented the report of their examination of the physicians, which was read and ordered to be printed. Drs. Richard Warren, Sir George Baker, Willis, Gisborne, Addington, Sir Lucas Pepys, and Reynolds coincided in opinion as to the probable recovery of their patient: Dr. Willis spoke the most hopefully, and as if convalescence had already begun. Pitt, whose evident object was to spin out time without coming to any decision, now moved that another committee should be appointed to examine the journals of the House and report precedents of such proceedings as might have been had in cases of the personal exercise of the royal authority being prevented or interrupted by infancy, sickness, infirmity, or otherwise, with a view to provide for the same. Fox was again in his place, having recently attended a great consultation at Carlton House. He rose as soon as Pitt had finished speaking, and objected to the motion as nugatory and productive of unnecessary and improper delay. He said, the right honourable gentleman knew very well that no precedent was to be found in which, at the same time, there existed an heir-apparent to the crown of full age and capacity. He said he was fully convinced, upon consideration of the principles and practice of the constitution, and of the analogy of the common law of the land, that whenever the sovereign, from sickness, infirmity, or other incapacity, was unable to exercise the functions of his high office, the heir-apparent, being of full age and capacity, had as indisputable a claim to the exercise of the executive power, in the name and on behalf of the sovereign, during the continuance of such incapacity, as in case of his natural demise. Pitt said to a friend sitting near him, "I'll unwhig that gentleman for the rest of his life!" And, then rising, the Tory premier, whose tenure of place depended on a different view of the case being adopted by parliament, poured forth a torrent of pure Whiggism against the head and chief professor of that creed, whose advancement to power now depended upon the assertion of Tory principles, or the establishment of unshackled hereditary

tary right in contradistinction to the popular will and the elective quality of the British crown. With an appearance of patriotic indignation, the chancellor of the exchequer declared Fox's doctrine to be little short of treason against the constitution. He insisted that the heir-apparent had no more right, in the case alleged, to the exercise of the executive power than any other subject in the realm; and that it belonged to the two remaining branches of the legislature, in behalf of the people, to make such provision for supplying the temporary deficiency as they might think most proper. Fox rejoined, that, the sovereignty of these kingdoms being hereditary, and no parliament existing which could legally alter the succession, nothing but a case of imperious necessity, which at present did not exist, could justify the two Houses of Parliament in assuming to themselves the right of setting aside the heir-apparent from the regency, or imposing limitations and restrictions on his authority. Burke followed Fox, and declared, with bitter sarcasm, that the doctrine of the chancellor of the exchequer would go to change the character of the sovereignty from hereditary into elective, and to convert parliament into a sort of Polish diet. He said that, since it was proposed to make him an elector on the regency, he hoped he should be excused if he gave his vote for a Prince of Wales whose amiable disposition was one of his many recommendations, in preference to a competitor, the prince opposite (Pitt), who was threatening the supporters of the Prince of Wales's right with the penalty of constructive treason!

The minister's motion was carried without a division; and a committee of twenty-one was appointed to sit, with the usual powers, to look for precedents, which, in reality, did not exist. The day following, the president of the council (Camden) made the same motion in the Lords. He strongly condemned the doctrine which had been advanced by Fox; and he maintained, as Pitt had done, that the right and duty of naming the regent, and limiting his power, belonged exclusively to the

Houses of Parliament, the two remaining branches of the legislature. Chancellor Thurlow was still mute; but his rival, Loughborough, boldly defended Fox's position and the prince's hereditary right to the regency, as being analogous both to the law of the land and the spirit of the constitution; and as steering clear of the embarrassments and dangers which must arise from the opposite course. He ridiculed the notion of having an hereditary succession to the sovereignty and an elective regency. Lords Stormont and Porchester supported Loughborough; Lord Stanhope took the opposite side; and then Thurlow, the veritable image of a chancellor in doubt, growled a few words, and no more, implying that Loughborough's doctrine was new to him. On the next day, the 12th of December, the report of the committee was brought up, and ordered to be printed, in the Commons; and Fox then rose to complain that his doctrine had been misrepresented by Lord Camden. Fox had previously declared—what certainly was only formally true, if true at all—that he had had no communications with the Prince of Wales on this delicate subject; and he now repeated that he spoke merely as an individual member, without authority from the prince. He said he had been made to assert that the prince had a right to *assume* the royal authority; but he believed that he had never used the word *assume;* and what he undoubtedly meant was, that the right was in the prince, but that the adjudication of the possession was in the two Houses of Parliament. If he had used the word *assume*, it was only in the carelessness of debate; and he certainly did not mean that the prince ought now to take the regency without the consent of parliament. In conclusion, Pitt intimated very plainly that the limitations and restrictions of the powers of the regent ought, in his opinion, to be numerous and severe, so that the king's lawful authority might be returned unimpaired into his hands as soon as his majesty should recover. By this time the Whigs were convinced that their claiming the regency as a matter of right had no chance of success in

either House; and their scheme now was to fight off the question and avoid any formal decision on that doctrinal point. On the 15th of December Earl Fitzwilliam observed in the Lords that it was very inexpedient at such a crisis, and when all parties were agreed that by right or by vote the prince was to be regent, to go into discussions of abstract political questions. Lord Camden replied that, as the most essential rights of the two Houses of Parliament had been called in question, it was absolutely necessary that they should not be left in a doubtful and unsettled state. Thurlow, still doubting about the possibility of the king's speedy recovery, and discouraged in his hope of making a good bargain with the prince and the Whigs, who were evidently committing themselves to the interpretation of the law propounded by Loughborough, deplored, with a laughable attempt at pathos, that such a question had ever been started; but said that, as it had been brought forward, he could not see how they could avoid coming to some determination upon it. Pitt, therefore, pursued his course; and, on the 16th of December, the House of Commons having resolved itself into a committee on the state of the nation, he moved three resolutions. The first, which merely affirmed the indisposition and incapacity of the king, was passed unanimously. The second resolution asserted that it was the right and duty of the two Houses of Parliament to provide the means of supplying the defect of the personal exercise of the royal authority in such manner as the urgency of the case might seem to require. And the third resolution was—"That for this purpose, and for maintaining entire the constitutional authority of the king, it is necessary that the said Lords spiritual and temporal, and Commons of Great Britain, should determine on the means whereby the royal assent may be given in parliament to such bill as may be passed by the two Houses of Parliament, respecting the exercise of the powers and authorities of the crown, in the name and on the behalf of the king, during the continuance of his majesty's

present indisposition." Upon these two last resolutions there was more eloquent, and passionate, and thoroughly earnest debating than had been heard in that House for many a year. The Whigs had every possible motive for exertion that can animate a party: if their adversaries triumphed, it was clear that such restrictions would be laid on the power and patronage of the regent as would make it next to impossible for Fox, as his minister, to carry on the administration.

The thing was not unprecedented—the two great parties had interchanged political principles and professions—the Whigs had been heard clamouring for prerogative and the hereditary rights of princes, and the Tories had been heard clamouring for the rights of the parliament and the people, before now; but still it was curious to watch a combat in which Pitt had to maintain and declare that the assertion of the inherent right of the Prince of Wales was one of those exploded ideas of indefeasible right which had fallen into contempt; and Fox had to adjure the House not to recur to the primary axioms of government and the abstract rights of the people. Lord North, ailing and blind, spoke with great spirit against the resolutions, being the first to rise and oppose Pitt. The master of the rolls, the lord-advocate of Scotland, the attorney and solicitor-general to the queen, spoke long and learnedly in support of the ministerial propositions and on regencies in general. Fox combated their arguments, and, though ill and suffering, fought like a man whose very existence depended on the issue; and, in fact, so utterly shattered was Fox's fortune and credit, that it did seem to depend on the issue, whether he should not be condemned to owe the means of a comfortable existence to the bounty of his friends. The committee divided on the motion, "That the chairman report progress" (implying the non-adoption of the first resolution), which was rejected, but by a much diminished ministerial majority, the numbers being only 268 against 204. Pitt's second and third resolutions were then put and carried without any debate. The

exertions which Fox had made proved so injurious to his broken health, that the next day he was unable to attend; and on account of his illness the House adjourned till the 19th. On that day Pitt being called upon by Sir John Sinclair to state distinctly how he intended to represent the third estate, and give legality to the act of parliament which he proposed for defining and limiting the authority of the regent, boldly announced that he meant to employ the great seal, as if his majesty were not in a state of infirmity and incapacity, but competent to issue the usual order to his lord chancellor. Pitt's three resolutions, which had passed in committee, were now brought up and debated. Fox, who had endangered his life in flying home over rough French roads, spurred on by the hope of having the reins of government put into his hands almost as soon as he should arrive at Carlton House, although able to attend, was still too unwell to take any prominent part in the debate; but his cause was ably supported by Sir Grey Cooper, Windham, and others.

As the House was exhausted, the debate was adjourned to the 23rd, when a most spirited and exciting struggle ensued on Pitt's proposal for holding the sovereignty to be for the moment in a piece of wax impressed by a symbol. Fox, though still evidently weak and in pain, was in his place, and spoke for a short time with much animation. He was vigorously supported by Lord North, who, in losing his sight, had not lost his wit, his enviable good humour, or his admirable ability and promptness as a debater; and he was sustained heart and hand by Burke, who opened the debate, and delivered one of his choicest harangues. Though firm to Fox and to his party, Burke was not moved by the encouragements and strong incentives which had operated upon his friends; and he declared to the House that he had had no part in any consultations about the regency: that he knew as little of the interior of Carlton House as he did of Buckingham House. At this moment his assertion was undoubtedly true; but it appears that he was called into Carlton House consultations very soon after. Pitt's

scheme was, nevertheless, approved by a somewhat larger majority than had attended him on the previous divisions; and then the three resolutions, having been all received, were ordered to be communicated to the Lords at a conference, wherein their lordships' concurrence was to be desired. This conference took place on the morrow, the 24th of December, and none of the Lords were so hearty in their concurrence as the lord chancellor. Thurlow had at last made up his mind on two very important points—that the king was likely to recover very soon—and that if he did not recover there was no permanent reliance to be placed on the Whigs, who, indeed, were bound by the honour of party to prefer his rival, Loughborough. He had had frequent and close communications with the physicians, and had, no doubt, found other means of prying into the interior of Kew Palace, and ascertaining the real condition of the king. It is said that Willis had pledged his reputation to him that the unhappy malady could not be of long duration, and that the king's temperate and orderly mode of life gave promise of health and longevity. And so cunning a man as Thurlow could not possibly avoid perceiving that Fox, even in conferring with him, regarded him with feelings of dislike. Thus Thurlow was as much thrown off by the Whigs as he threw himself off from them on his selfish calculation of chances. Such double dealing at such a crisis, together with the sure knowledge that it had not been concealed, was enough to have sunk any other man; but Thurlow was not like other men, and he braved the matter with an audacity and a cant that will render his name immortal. He stood up from beside the woolsack in the House of Lords; and, with an awful solemnity of manner, undertook the defence of the king's sacred rights against the claims of the prince and the wicked Whigs. He seemed to pour out the whole strength of his heart and soul in a passionate eulogy on the superhuman virtues of his sovereign: he said his debt of gratitude for many favours graciously conferred was great beyond the power of expression.

According to Wilberforce, the same motives by which Thurlow had been actuated had led to many unprincipled and shameless desertions by political speculators, chiefly in the Upper House, who thought they could not be too early in worshipping the rising sun, and who were afterwards grievously disappointed at the king's recovery. The steadier peers were, however, numerous enough to carry the question upon Pitt's three resolutions, to negative a motion of amendment, and to appoint a committee to acquaint the Commons at a conference that they concurred with them. A strong protest was entered and signed by the Dukes of York and Cumberland and forty-six other peers.

A.D. 1789.—We cannot here detail the very long debates and proceedings which followed. They are solely interesting as party history. Pitt's Regency Bill, which was introduced on the 16th of January, and which invested the Prince of Wales with the royal authority, subject to various limitations and cogent restrictions, never came into operation—nor was it its fate to be considered as a constitutional precedent. In 1811, when a recurrence of the king's unhappy malady rendered a regent necessary, the question was debated with more calmness and practical wisdom; it was considered, in all its bearings, by eminent constitutional lawyers and writers; and the Regency Bill, which was then passed, and which was acted upon until the death of George III. in 1820, is the act which stands as a precedent, and which alone is the proper subject of study. We need merely say that the Whigs in their first impatient move committed a blunder, which greatly injured their party, in claiming the regency for the Prince of Wales as a matter of *right* without previous consent of parliament; that parliament and the ministerial framers of the bill were really placed in a most difficult dilemma, for, if they gave too much power to the regent, the restoration of authority to the king, who was not then an old man and who was likely to recover, must have been rendered difficult and in various ways embarrassing; and if, on

the other hand, they gave too little power to the regent, they must have destroyed or injured his efficiency as representative of the third estate, and thus impaired the monarchic part of the constitution. The whole tendency of Pitt's scheme was in the latter direction, and nothing but his inward conviction that the king must soon recover can be pleaded in excuse of many portions of his Regency Bill. It was no time for trying experiments; the flames of revolution kindled in France were spreading rapidly through the European continent, and soon thrones and dynasties were swept away, consumed, and obliterated as if they had never been.

When the Whigs were making quite sure of a long tenure of office under the regent, the king recovered. On the 9th of February it was reported in the ministerial circles that his majesty was much better. On Thursday, the 19th, Lord Chancellor Thurlow sonorously announced to their lordships that, from the official reports of the physicians, it appeared that his gracious majesty had been for some time in a state of convalescence; that the accounts just received conveyed the happy news that that improvement was still progressive—information which, he said, must prove, beyond measure, pleasing to every man in the kingdom. On Tuesday, the 24th, the chancellor informed the House of Lords that he had that morning attended his majesty, by his express command, and had found him perfectly recovered; on the 25th the king was pronounced perfectly free from his complaint; and a paper was posted at St. James's, stating that, by his majesty's command, the physicians were to issue no more bulletins. The personal popularity of the sovereign had increased wonderfully: it was already a habit to call him "the good old king," to point to his moral, domestic modes of life, and to contrast them with those of the young and gay prince: the dreadful malady of his majesty only endeared him the more by exciting compassion and sympathy; and in their generous feelings for the individual, and in their anxiety that he should be restored to his kingly

state, people were but too apt to overlook the inconveniences and dangers that might, possibly, have attended his restoration to the throne. The city of London, which had once been the great centre of opposition, was now enthusiastically loyal; and, though Fox and the Whigs maintained their superiority in Westminster, the capital and its thickly peopled neighbourhood gave very strong proofs of their preferring the restored government of the king with Pitt's ministry, to the untried government of the prince with a Whig cabinet. The Whigs, in fact, were still labouring under that heavy burden of unpopularity which they had imposed upon themselves by the coalition; several of their leaders were suspected of a want not merely of political principle, but of common honesty: in the heat of debate on the Regency Bill they had delivered sentiments highly offensive to all loyal subjects, or to all the admirers of "the good old king;" and their disrespect, their heat, and vehemence were attributed entirely to their selfish impatience to obtain the emoluments and honours of office. We shall not attempt either to condemn or justify these feelings: we merely state what appears to have been the fact in 1789—that the Whig party in the nation was decidedly in the minority, and its eloquent leaders distrusted even by many of those who admired their abilities and genius.

On the 12th of May, an elaborate report from the privy council on the slave-trade being laid upon the table of the House of Commons, together with petitions for and against the abolition of that traffic, it was voted, on the motion of Mr. Wilberforce, that the report, with other papers, should be immediately taken into consideration by a committee of the whole House. In committee, Wilberforce, who in private had received promises and encouragement from his friend the premier, made a long speech, and concluded with moving twelve resolutions condemnatory of the traffic and the barbarous treatment of African slaves. Pitt said he was willing that the resolutions should be entered on the journals. Burke and Fox supported Wilberforce with their usual

animation. Fox applauded Wilberforce for proposing to do what he thought it their duty to do—completely to abolish the traffic in slaves. He was glad that the propositions were to be put upon the journals; for if, unfortunately, the attempt should fail, it might succeed another year. He felt certain that sooner or later it *must* succeed, and that our example would be followed by other nations. In the end, the further consideration of the question was adjourned to the next session.

END OF VOL. XX.

London: WILLIAM CLOWES and SONS, Stamford-street.